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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 204



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' ON SCHEDULED FRENCH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

OW111342 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Round Up: Political Parties in France Putting Forth Last Spurt for Parliamentary Elections"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Paris, June 11 (XINHUA)--Political forces in France will soon meet in another face-off after the presidential elections as the National Assembly elections scheduled from June 14 to 21 are drawing nearer and the pre-election campaign entered its final stage.

The elections, announced by President Francois Mitterrand on May 22 simultaneously with the dissolution of the last 491-seat National Assembly, is aimed at a parliamentary majority for the ruling socialist party and other left-wing parties. 2,760 candidates from various parties will run for the elections.

A series of measures have been taken by the socialist-led government in order to win support from the voters. Among them were an increase in the minimum monthly wage, more subsidies to families, housing and pensioners and the suspension of certain projects under construction. The government is also prepared to enter into negotiations with quarters concerned on more jobs and shorter working hours. These reformative steps have been welcomed by the middle and lower classes and the trade unions.

France's elections are conducted in two rounds. Candidates winning majority votes in the first round are elected. In districts where no one wins a majority, all candidates with 12.5 per cent of the votes or more meet in a runoff a week later with the highest vote-getter elected.

The Socialist Party has reached agreements with the Communist Party and a number of central and left-wing minor parties to form an alliance in the elections. They have agreed to nominate each party's own candidate in the first round, and to support their best vote-getter in the second. The Socialist Party has also promised support for the candidates of minor parties in a score of constituencies by refraining from nominating its candidates.

The socialists, buoyed by their victory in the presidential elections and taking advantage of their position as the ruling party, are in high morale in the hope of scoring another success. However, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the two largest left-wing parties, still differ on many political issues, which they agreed to discuss later.

Meanwhile, in an effort to block President Mitterrand's bid for a leftist parliamentary majority, the Rally for the Republic (RPR) and the Union of Democracy (UDF), which held majority in the last National Assembly, have discarded their differences and come to agreement to form "The Union for a New Majority." They maintain that the change of social system, particularly a possible communist participation in the government, require them to retain a majority in the new parliament as a counterweight and binding force to the socialist-led government. They concentrated their attacks on the new government's social policy and exploited the franc slump to intensify their attacks.

The RPR and the UDF designated a single candidate in 370 constituencies. In the remaining 120 constituencies, they will back the best-placed candidate, a strategy similar to that of the socialists and the communists. Although the RPR and the UDF have stressed their unity, their old grudge is not likely to be ironed out easily.

Opinion polls conducted last week indicated the likelihood of a leftist victory. But the former majority parties are still campaigning undauntedly in all constituencies.

CSO: 4020/216

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BALDRIGE REMARKS PAVE WAY FOR HAIG VISIT

HK051420 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 5 Jun 81 p 2

["New Talk" column: "U.S. Opinions Pave the Way for Haig's Visit to the PRC"]

[Excerpts] U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig will visit the PRC in 10 days. In the past few days, U.S. government officials and the public have revealed their stands by expressing opinions on Sino-American trade and other matters.

The address made by U.S. Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige yesterday to the National Council on U.S.-China trade was an official talk. His declarations, to a certain extent, did represent the opinion of President Reagan, for it was Reagan who suggested the establishment of the joint Sino-American council to promote trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Washington has painted a rosy picture of the economic exchanges between the United States and China. In 1980, the total volume of trade between China and the United States increased by 100 percent and is still on the increase this year. It is estimated that by 1984 the total volume of trade will reach \$100 billion.

American commodities account for two-thirds of the total volume of trade between China and the United States, and more American commodities were exported to China than vice versa. The major reason why Chinese commodities have not yet entered the American market and why some U.S. scientific and technological products are not sold in China is that the United States has lagged behind the times. To quote some U.S. businessmen, the United States is still bound by the past practice of carrying out trade for political reasons. Such a practice should have been abandoned long ago because it is 20 years behind the times.

Some far-sighted businessmen have held that taking prompt action is essential because China is now undergoing economic readjustment and is consolidating its foundations. Very soon there will be rapid developments in all fields. If the United States is still hesitating, it will lag behind other competitors.

Baldrige shared the view that China's economic readjustment policies are not a retreat from China's goal of modernizing as rapidly as possible. Instead, these policies have strengthened its economic structure. Sino-American cooperation will have good prospects.

Thus, President Reagan suggested the establishment of a joint council for Sino-American trade in order to promote cooperation in the future.

Next to Japan and South Korea, China has now become America's third largest market in Asia. This trade contributes to world peace and security. Foreign trade is usually subordinate to diplomatic policies. Washington has stressed that it has common interests with China. According to Baldrige, the premise for realizing these interests is to treat China as a friendly country. As long as both sides observe international codes and the joint communique, China and the United States will establish a friendly relationship. Such a relationship will be different from its "alliance" with Japan, its greatest trade partner in the Far East.

The U.S. secretary of commerce also said that Reagan and his cabinet are determined to build a long-lasting relationship with China, although Reagan himself, his cabinet members and the treasury secretary Donald Reagan have spoken on improving U.S. relations with Taiwan in accordance with "the Taiwan Relations Act." However, in order to promote Sino-American relations, they should first of all understand that "The Taiwan Relations Act" cannot become an obstacle.

CSO: 4005/688

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

'BA YI RADIO' CRITICIZES DENG XIAOPING FOR CONCESSIONS TO HAIG

Concessions to Haig

OW190600 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 18 Jun 81

[Text] The outcome of the talks between U.S. Secretary of State Haig and our leaders indicate that the policy of the Sino-U.S. alliance not only fails to bring us any true advantages but seriously endangers our national interests. Haig's stand in the talks once again indicates that the United States is a most unreliable ally.

The policy of the Sino-U.S. alliance is a very dangerous and incorrect policy decision. That well-known leader of the central authorities has obstinately pursued this policy, making unprincipled concessions to the United States under the pretext of Sino-U.S. friendship. This is a most serious mistake.

The outcome of the talks between our leaders and Haig is lamentable. They attempt to deceive the public and confuse right and wrong by bragging about the so-called "common strategic interests of the two countries," the "fighting task in opposing the common enemy," and the "establishment of a united front."

However, facts speak louder than words. The stand taken by the U.S. side during the talks indicates that the United States is merely paying lavish lip service to the so-called "common strategic interests of the two countries," while, in fact, attempting to fully demonstrate its strength and benefiting itself at the expense of others.

As far as the so-called "fighting task in opposing the common enemy," is concerned, the United States loudly shouts these brave words because it is attempting to make use of our country to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos and Afghanistan, while it can "watch in safety while others fight."

It is particularly necessary to point out that the Taiwan issue remains the major problem in Sino-U.S. relations. The United States has constantly kept its own interests in mind while talking about this issue. Haig repeatedly stated during the talks that the United States would continue its sale of arms to the Kuomintang in order to guarantee the security of Taiwan. That is to say, for its own political, economic and military interests, the United States will hereafter fully support the Kuomintang to maintain the Chiang gang's rule over Taiwan.

Playing the same old tune, the United States says "If only China agrees to continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, the U.S. Government will permit arms sales to China." Haig even went so far as to say, absurdly, that the People's Republic of China should maintain a balance in the level of equipment with Taiwan so as to safeguard Taiwan's security. It is a gross insult for Haig to put our country on a par with Taiwan.

The actions taken by the U.S. leaders of the Taiwan issue not only betray their promises to Comrade Deng Xiaoping, but also further interfere in the internal affairs of our country in pursuing its "Two-China" policy. The actions taken by the U.S. leaders have once again exposed the true features of the U.S. imperialists in disdaining the national sovereignty of our country and in insulting the national dignity of the Chinese people.

These facts are another serious blow to those who indulge in pushing the Sino-U.S. alliance. Facts have told us that it is of great danger to cherish illusions about the Sino-U.S. alliance. In past years, Chairman Mao exposed the true features of the U.S. imperialists as [words indistinct]. He once sternly gave us a warning, saying that some people cherish illusions about the United States. Deceived by the U.S. imperialists' sweet words and honeyed phrases, they seem to regard these imperialists as also talking about equality and mutual interests with People's China even without going through a long period of struggle. And they also cherish some reactionary and antipopular ideas in their minds. They are the rightists among the people.

Now that the policy of the Sino-U.S. friendship has disastrously fallen through, that well-known intellectual, originally from Sichuan, should give this golden saying of Chairman Mao's serious thought.

Deng Criticized

OW291451 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] To make a long story short, the plenary session of the party Central Committee should not only solve organizational and domestic issues but also fully discuss questions of foreign affairs and set forth principles and policies. What is more important is that we must not allow a certain individual to arbitrarily and wantonly alter the adopted resolutions.

As everyone knows, before Haig's visit to our country, some leaders of our country firmly asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to issue a special statement on the relations between China and the United States against the will of that leader of the party Central Committee. The statement pointed out: We would rather receive no U.S. arms than accepting continued U.S. interference in our internal affairs by selling arms to Taiwan. At the same time, XINHUA news agency also stated: U.S. arms sales to Taiwan is an interference in China's internal affairs. This is a principled issue and China does not barter on matters of principle.

However, when talks with Haig started, Comrade Deng Xiaoping personally instructed Huang Hua, Bo Yibo, Geng Biao and other comrades who took part in the talks not to be too serious on the Taiwan issue and to take a broad view in developing relations with the United States.

Owing to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's pressure, our country has in fact fundamentally changed its original stand, agreed to purchasing weapons from the United States and tolerated continued interference in China's internal affairs and selling arms to Taiwan by the United States.

After the conclusion of the talks with Haig, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: I am very glad over the talks between Huang Hua and Haig. My talk with Haig was satisfactory. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said: In view of our long-range strategic interest, we must not go too far in opposing the U.S. arms sale to the Kuomintang and should pay good attention to developing relations with the United States. We have to make some necessary concessions.

However, this argument cannot convince the people. Although sometimes we may make some political compromise and concession on certain issues in order to achieve our strategic goal, we definitely cannot make concession on a principled issue which concerns our country's sovereignty and national dignity. The present U.S. policy toward Taiwan and its selling of arms to the Kuomintang precisely fall into the category of the important principled issue.

The Chinese people will never barter on matters of principle by a certain individual of the party Central Committee. The one who barter on matters of principle can only win praise from foreign countries. U.S. President Reagan especially appreciated Comrade Deng Xiaoping's action. He said: Before Haig's visit to China, the Chinese side had prepared to take a strong stand on the Taiwan issue. However, due to Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping's intervention, the stand has been changed. This shows that Mr Deng Xiaoping holds great power in the country. I am quite satisfied with having a common language with the Chinese leaders. Reagan's praise may make Comrade Deng Xiaoping feel pleased, but can winning praise from imperialism be called a good thing?

Yielding to Haig

GM160749 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 15 Jun 81

[Text] In his talks with leaders of our country, U.S. State Secretary Haig once again asserted that to effectively ensure Taiwan's security, the United States will continue to supply the Kuomintang (KMT) with arms. The statement once again reveals the true imperialist nature of the United States in holding our country's sovereignty in total disregard. However, under the pretext of maintaining and strengthening Sino-U.S. friendship, that well-known leader of the party Central Committee has arbitrarily prevented our country from making a strong protest against this U.S. act of interference in China's internal affairs. This totally unprincipled attitude of that well-known leader cannot but arouse the public indignation of the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country.

As everyone already knows, prior to Haig's visit to China, certain leaders of our country, disregarding the wishes of that leader of the party Central Committee, resolutely asked the Foreign Ministry to issue a special statement on Sino-U.S. relations. The statement pointed out that China would rather receive no U.S. arms than accept continued U.S. interference in our internal affairs by selling arms to Taiwan.

In his talks with our country's leaders, Haig, defying China's solemn statement, impudently and shamelessly harped on the same old tune of the U.S. Government and babbled that if China agrees to the United States' continued arms sales to Taiwan, the U.S. Government would also agree to sell arms to China. Moreover, Haig has also done his utmost to ask the PRC to maintain an arms balance with Taiwan and babbled that this is necessary to ensure Taiwan's security. But Haig added that as for Taiwan's modern air force, its technical level is obviously superior to that of the Chinese People's Air Force. From now on, we must bring up the technical level. Haig's argument is not worth refuting. Both in form and content, his statement is a great insult to our country and the Chinese people. For this reason we solemnly state: the great revolutionary Chinese people will neither yield to the will of U.S. imperialism nor agree to its unreasonable demand that our armed forces maintain a so-called "arms balance" with the KMT armed forces in Taiwan. In addition, we want to solemnly point out that the United States has no intention whatsoever of maintaining this so-called "arms balance" in the future, but will do its utmost to continuously support the KMT.

As the whole world knows, the United States has signed an agreement with the KMT stipulating that the United States will sell nearly \$1 billion in arms and equipment to Taiwan each year. Needless to say, these arms sold to Taiwan will be the most modern military and technical equipment, with tremendous destructive power. For instance, recently U.S. President Reagan personally approved a document for supplying Taiwan with the latest U.S. F-16 fighters. The technical performance of these aircraft are far better than our country's fighters.

Facts show that on the question of Taiwan, U.S. imperialism has brazenly shirked the obligations it made to Comrade Deng Xiaoping. But why, when faced with this situation, has that well-known leader of the party Central Committee continued to make concessions to the United States? Why has he wanted to maintain and develop friendly relations with the United States at all costs?

As for us, the Chinese people, however, we will never tolerate a certain person in the party Central Committee making unprincipled concessions to the United States in the name of so-called "Sino-American friendship."

The XINHUA News Agency, disregarding the policy of that well-known leader of the party Central Committee, promptly pointed out that the United States' interference in China's internal affairs and its arms sales to Taiwan are matters of principle, and that we will never trade our principles. The vast number of commanders and fighters of our army resolutely and unswervingly support this golden maxim.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI RADIO' WARNS AGAINST NEW WAR AGAINST SRV

OM140948 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] Since the outbreak of a series of bloody conflicts along the Sino-Vietnamese border, a person of our central authorities has reiterated the need to teach Vietnam another lesson. His statement can only have caused serious concern among the people and military units.

Past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future. Realities tell us that the first lesson we gave Vietnam was blunder on our part. Have we forgotten the teaching that the overturned cart ahead is a warning to the carts behind? At a meeting of the Central Military Commission, Yang Duzhi pointed out: In the invasion of Vietnam, we suffered scores of thousands of casualties in 3 weeks, although we penetrated its territory by some 40 km. During the battle for Lang Son alone, we took over 1,000 average daily casualties. This was a war of attrition in its true sense.

In attacking Vietnam, our army not only took a heavy toll of lives but suffered supply losses. The invasion frustrated our morale, retarded our national economic growth and badly tarnished our country's international prestige. The military expenditures of several billion yuan incurred during the military operation have adversely affected our state economic construction plan and the progress of the four modernizations program. The invasion of Vietnam—an operation unscrupulously launched by that central leader—has proved that an erroneous line in foreign affairs invariably brings about heavy losses to the cause of our country.

Speaking on the lessons drawn in the war against Vietnam, Comrade Chen Yun warned that we must remain calmer on the question of war against Vietnam. The principle we have adhered to in past wars is that we would rather chop off 1 finger of the enemy than injure all his 10 fingers. We should know that we paid a tremendous price over Vietnam but injured only one finger of the enemy. As far as (weapons) are concerned, we greatly helped Vietnam.

Facts show that Vietnam has gained experience from our army's invasion and greatly strengthened its defense works along the entire border. Land mines have been laid by the Vietnamese army over several hundred square km inside the border, according to our reconnaissance reports. If the so-called second lesson

is to be given to Vietnam, our army will surely take a still heavier toll of lives, and our country will suffer still more losses politically, morally and materially than 2 years ago.

The present antagonistic situation along the Sino-Vietnamese border indicates border clashes or even a bigger bloody conflict may result if restraint is not exercised. The tense border situation may trigger a large-scale war at any moment.

Brushing away other leaders' opinions, that central leader who launched the first war against Vietnam has flagrantly stuck to his own idea. He is not prepared to take any practical measures to relax the dangerous tension on the Sino-Vietnamese border. He is stubbornly obstructing efforts to normalize relations between China and Vietnam. The present dangerous, grave situation along the border of the two countries can be defused through negotiations. But he has rejected the negotiation proposal under various excuses and has even gone as far as to threaten Vietnam with the statement on giving it another lesson. This can only worsen the border situation and will eventually lead to a large-scale war. If that occurs, large numbers of our commanders and fighters will have to give up their lives on the battlefield, and still more families will lose fathers, brothers and children.

Can our country and our people avoid another blunder? In this situation, it is imperative to reiterate Comrade Chen Yu's warning: We must remain calmer on the question of war against Vietnam.

CSO: 4005/687

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI RADIO' ON TEACHING SRV 'ANOTHER LESSON'

OM220542 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 21 Jun 81

[Text] After the bloody clash along the Sino-Vietnamese border, a certain person of the party Central Committee again bragged about punishing Vietnam for a second time. Such statements cannot but give rise to serious misgivings among the people and army. A proverb teaches us "that past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future." Facts show that it was a big mistake in trying to punish Vietnam in the first place. Can we afford to forget the lesson drawn from that mistake and commit another big mistake again?

At that time, Yang Dazhi pointed out at the meeting of the military commission of the party Central Committee that during the war with Vietnam, the fact that our forces advanced only 40 kilometers in 3 weeks at a cost of several tens of thousands of casualties to us, and that during the Long Son campaign alone, our forces suffered over 1,000 casualties daily, taught us that the war with Vietnam was a 100-percent war of attrition against ourselves.

In attacking Vietnam, we not only suffered casualties, incurred material losses, damaged army morale and disrupted our national economy, we also seriously damaged China's international prestige. The huge cost of the war which amounted to several billion yuan, seriously affected our country's economic development and modernization efforts. The decision of that leader of the party Central Committee to punish Vietnam teaches us that a wrong line in foreign policy inevitably brings tremendous losses to the state.

In talking about the lesson drawn from the war with Vietnam, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that in the future, we must be more sober-minded in dealing the question of war with Vietnam. In the past, our war strategy was: it is better to cut off 1 finger of the enemy than trying to hurt all his 10 fingers. But in the war with Vietnam, we succeeded in hurting only a finger of the enemy at tremendous cost to ourselves, and in certain respect, we actually and inadvertently helped Vietnam. Facts show that Vietnam has drawn lesson from the border war. According to our reconnaissance reports, the Vietnamese forces have greatly strengthened their defense fortifications along the Sino-Vietnamese border, and land mines have been laid over an area of 700 square kilometers along the border line. If we insist on punishing Vietnam for a second time, surely our forces will suffer more casualties than the first time, and our country's morale, political and material losses will be even heavier than those we suffered 2 years ago.

Presently the Chinese and Vietnamese forces are facing each other along the Sino-Vietnamese border, and an armed conflict may break out at any moment. A slight mishap can cause border clashes and even lead to a major armed conflict. With tension so strained on the Sino-Vietnamese border, a large-scale war can erupt at any moment. But that leader of the party Central Committee who launched the first war against Vietnam, has turned a deaf ear to the opinions of other leaders, has shown no intention of taking any effective measures to ease the border crisis and has stubbornly obstructed the normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations.

The current grave situation on the Sino-Vietnamese border can be eased by means of talks. But refusing talks based on all sorts of pretexts and threatening Vietnam with a so-called "second punishment" will only further intensify the border situation and eventually lead to a large-scale war in which more and more commanders and fighters will sacrifice their lives, and more and more families will lose their fathers, brothers and children.

Is it beyond the ability of our country, army and people to avoid a big mistake like the one we made in the past? Under the present situation, it is necessary to repeat Comrade Chen Yun's warning that "in the future we must be more sober-minded on the question of war with Vietnam."

CSO: 4005/687

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U. S. JOURNAL DISCUSSES AGGRESSIVE SOVIET DESIGNS

OW250805 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1442 GMT 23 Jun 81

[Report on article recently published by U.S. biweekly journal UNITY]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Jun (XINHUA)--The article says: Although the Soviet Union is now closer to invading Poland than ever before, the Soviets have realized that they will have to "pay a very high price for invading Poland." "Militarily, meeting firm resistance by the people will be a last thing; economically, the price for such an adventurist act will be extremely high; politically, it will arouse world anger and opposition."

The article points out: In fact, Moscow has many weak points that are characteristic of imperialism. This is an inevitable problem derived from its expansionist acts." "Militarily, the Soviet Union has found that it is bogged down in a quagmire in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. The Soviet Union has sent large numbers of troops (100,000 Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan; 250,000 Vietnamese occupy Kampuchea) and equipment; furthermore, the Soviet Union is resorting to ruthless and savage means, such as using poison gas and burning villages. Still, the resistance in those countries will remain tenacious and unceasing. These conflicts show that the Soviets will have to pay a tremendous price by spending several million U.S. dollars daily and by the miring down of tens of thousands of troops. All this has compelled the Kremlin to reconsider its new diplomatic adventures. The resistance put up by the Afghan and Kampuchean peoples constitutes an important factor against the danger of war.

"These wars have shown that a high price must be paid politically. The United Nations has passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority demanding the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese withdraw their troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea respectively. The Soviet Union's mask as a 'natural ally of the national liberation movement' has been ripped off. Some Third World countries, including Egypt, Somalia and Sudan, once friends of Moscow, have kicked the Soviet Union out."

"Moscow also faces serious economic problems. Because 18 percent of the Soviet Union's GNP is for military expenditures, economic imbalances and defects have appeared in certain major spheres. In the past several years, some of the key departments in the Soviet Union including coal, meat, vegetables and cereals, failed to reach their economic targets."

"The chaotic situation at home is another matter that worries Moscow. Problems such as shortages of food and consumers' goods and rising prices have aggravated people's dissatisfaction daily. Worrying about antiwar sentiments, the Soviets have even stopped sending the corpses home from Afghanistan."

The article concludes: "Although the Soviets are curbed by the aforementioned setbacks, they have not abandoned their ambition of becoming the top nation in the world, replacing the United States. People throughout the world must maintain vigilance against Soviet expansionist and aggressive acts and stiffen their opposition."

CSO: 4005/687

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISCUSSIONS ON MEXICAN-U.S. RELATIONS

'RENMIN RIBAO' Comments

HK120350 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 81 p 7

[Article by Zhu Yongheng (2612 3052 1854) and Hou Yaoqi (0186 5069 0366):
"New Developments in Mexican-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo arrived in the United States on 7 June for talks with President Reagan. This is their second meeting since they met on the Mexican-U.S. border in January, and this is also the formal beginning of a series of talks scheduled between the two presidents. According to the announcement, they will discuss problems of bilateral interests as well as newly cropped up regional and world problems.

Mexico and the United States are neighbors separated by the Bravo Del Norte River (called Rio Grande by the United States), and they have always had countless complex political and economic ties. There are still many long-standing and difficult to solve problems between the two countries.

The problem of illegal immigrants has been one of the trickiest problems between the two countries. Because of the wide gap between the rich and poor on the north and south banks of the Bravo Del Norte River, for scores of years hundreds of thousands of Mexicans have crossed the river illegally to make a living in the United States. According to statistics, the United States has now more than 6 million Mexican laborers. They are called "wetbacks." Mexico has expressed indignation over the treatment of its laborers in the United States. The United States on the other hand holds that the entry of the large number of "illegal immigrants" has dealt a serious blow to its labor market and aggravated its social problems.

Trade is another highly controversial problem between the two countries. The development of trade between the two countries has always been in a state of great imbalance. Mexico has a huge trade deficit of several billion dollars a year with the United States. Mexico has called on the United States to open its market and, in particular, give preferential treatment to Mexican goods and farm produce. However, the United States has instead put up barriers and imposed strict restrictions on the import of more than 100 types of Mexican goods.

Energy cooperation is a new problem that has appeared in Mexican-U.S. relations in recent years. At present, Mexico is exporting more than 700,000 barrels of

oil a day to the United States. Under the situation of the global energy crisis, the United States hopes that Mexico will become its permanent energy supply base. However, for the sake of not becoming wholly dependent on a single market, the U.S., Mexico is adhering to the policy of market diversification in the export of oil. Early this year, Mexico unequivocally announced that the import of oil from Mexico by any foreign country cannot exceed half the Mexican oil exports (at present only the United States is getting more than half). This clearly points out that the United States is not likely to get more oil from Mexico.

In addition, there are also all kinds of contradictions and differences on such issues as territorial waters, fishing rights and pollution between the two countries.

In view of the global energy crisis, the unstable situation in such vital oil-producing regions in the world as the Middle East and the Persian Gulf and the disturbances in Central America, the United States is deeply aware of the importance of improving relations with its oil rich southern neighbor toward safeguarding its economic interests and security and protecting its future energy supplies in particular. Therefore, after taking office, Reagan has again called for improving Mexican-U.S. relations. From Mexico's point of view, because more than two-thirds of its foreign trade, foreign investments and foreign debts involve the United States, and moreover, because it also wants to get more capital and technology from the United States to develop its economy, therefore it also hopes to improve relations with the United States.

Although there are contradictions and differences between Mexico and the United States, however, there are also many common areas of mutual needs. Although there will still be all kinds of obstacles and resistance on the road to improving relations between the two countries, but by means of mutual visits and consultations on the basis of equality between the leaders of the two countries, it is entirely possible that some understandings can be reached by both sides and there will also be new developments in Mexican-U.S. relations.

'RENMIN RIBAO' Newsletter

HK130304 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jun 81 p 6

[Newsletter from America by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Yuan Zianlu (5913 0341 4389): "U.S.-Mexican Relations Enters New Situation"]

[Text] Last December, a month after Reagan was elected president, a U.S. scholar wrote: "Today, the two Americas are vastly different from the two opposite continents when it was unilaterally announced the setting up of an alliance for progress 20 years ago."

The recently concluded visit of Mexican President Lopez Portillo to the United States has vividly reflected this tremendous change which has taken place in the two Americas.

As a result of the two talks between President Lopez Portillo and President Reagan, both sides agreed on some of the things discussed, but there are still many differences. Reagan accepted an invitation from Lopez Portillo to attend an international meeting of heads of state on the study of north-south cooperation and development to be held in Mexico this October. Apart from the signing of an agreement for the shipment of grain to Mexico this year, both sides did not reach any agreement on specific problems in U.S.-Mexican relations. They only decided on setting up a few committees and letting the officials concerned hold meetings and negotiations. At the beginning of the talks, Reagan put forth the U.S. concept of a plan to aid the Caribbean and Central America regions. Lopez Portillo had expressed an interest in the plan, but at the same time had also put forth many principled reservations.

People know that although Mexico has close ties with the United States, its views differ from those of the United States regarding many of the problems in the current international situation. The attitudes of the two countries toward the situation in Central and South America and certain countries in this region are also not identical. Mexico is the third major U.S. trading partner, but for a long time it has had a huge adverse balance of trade with the United States. The differences between these two countries on the questions of illegal immigrants and fishing rights are also very acute.

In this round of U.S.-Mexican talks, not all the differences were concretely resolved. However, in this round of talks, there was a sign of a change in the U.S. attitude toward Mexico.

At the welcoming ceremony on 8 June, President Lopez Portillo stressed that there will continue to be differences between Mexico and the United States, however, there should neither be the tendency of "arrogance" in the relations between the two countries nor the phenomenon of "submissiveness." The WASHINGTON POST said: This reflected "Mexico's feeling that it has been treated for a long time as a minor partner by the United States."

Because of its increasing economic development and political prestige, Mexico has become an influential country not only in Latin America but also in the whole world. Naturally, it will no longer tolerate U.S. "arrogance," and what is more, it will also be reluctant to occupy a "submissive" position.

It is precisely because of this kind of situation that the U.S. Government has to change its way of handling U.S.-Mexican relations. Before being sworn in as president, Reagan had already set a precedence by meeting President Lopez Portillo in a Mexican border town in the early part of January. After assuming office, he had again expressed the need of giving priority in foreign policy to the development of U.S.-Mexican relations. Prior to the visit of the Mexican president, a senior official of the U.S. State Department had informed this reporter in advance about the "special importance" of this visit. He said that this not only involves the relations of the United States with a neighboring country but also the relations of the United States with an important country. The United States also made careful arrangements for the entire visit. For example, President Lopez Portillo became the first foreign leader to be invited to Camp David since Reagan took office. At the welcoming ceremony in the

White House, Reagan also specifically emphasized: "Today, I take this opportunity to welcome you. This government (the U.S.) attaches importance to and makes unflagging efforts toward maintaining the relations of mutual respect and cooperation between our two countries. Decisions on problems which affect our border on either side will only be made after the closest consultations between the two governments." This method is naturally welcomed by the Mexican side.

Surely, whether or not the sign of this change signifies that there is really a substantive change in the attitude of the United States toward Mexico must still be tested by subsequent events. However, one point is certain. Only if the United States adopts an equitable and rational attitude of respecting the other side can the two countries resolve their differences through consultations and can there be a rapid development in U.S.-Mexican relations.

CSO: 4005/687

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

FOREIGN RELATIONS HISTORY SOCIETY--Fuzhou, 24 Jun (XINHUA)--A society devoted to the study of the history of China's relations with other countries was founded at a recent meeting at Xiamen University in Fujian Province attended by more than 70 specialists in this field. A national academic group, the new society hopes to develop and coordinate research concerning China's foreign relations, to organize academic activities and to promote exchanges with foreign countries. Huan Xiang, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, was elected honorary president of the society; Sun Yutang, research professor at the Institute of History, was elected president. [OW261121 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 24 Jun 81 OW]

THAI PRINCESSES HONORED--Hua Hin, Thailand, June 4 (XINHUA)--Chinese ambassador to Thailand Zhang Weilie and his wife Xu Heng gave a banquet here yesterday in honour of Princess Maha Chakri Sirindon, daughter of the King of Thailand, who had returned from a recent visit to China. Princess Chulabon who could not go to China with her elder sister for health reasons also attended the banquet. The Chinese ambassador proposed a toast to the successful visit of Princess Sirindon to China. Princess Sirindon said she received a kinsman-welcome from the Chinese leaders and people during her stay in China and gained a better understanding of China as well. Princess Chulabon expressed once again her wish to visit China. Present at the banquet were Poonperm Krairikah, Lord Chamberlain who accompanied the princess to China. [Text] [OW041303 Beijing XINHUA in English 1246 GMT 4 Jun 81]

PRC, DPRK EDUCATION PROTOCOL--Pyongyang, June 24 (XINHUA)--China's Beijing University and Korea's Kim Il-song University signed a protocol here today on cooperation in teaching and scientific research. The two sides decided to expand and exchange lectures, students, the study of teaching science as well as textbooks, teaching programs and plans. The protocol was signed by Ma Shijiang, head of the visiting Beijing University delegation and vice-president of the university's Administrative Council, and No Song-chan, vice-president of the Kim Il-song University. Present at the signing ceremony was Chi Chang-ik, president of the Kim Il-song University. The Chinese delegation arrived here on June 12. [Text] [OW251532 Beijing XINHUA in English 1526 GMT 24 Jun 81]

HUANG VISITS ASIA--Huang Hua, vice premier of the State Council and foreign minister, departed Beijing by plane on the morning of 25 June for an official visit to India, Sri Lanka and Maldives, at the invitation of these countries. He was seen off at the airport by Vice Premier Chen Muhua of the State Council, Vice Foreign Minister Han Nianlong and others. Prior to his departure, Vice Premier Huang Hua met with and answered questions from the Beijing correspondent of Press Trust of India, Sunil Roy. The vice premier said that there has been satisfactory development in Sino-Indian relations in recent years and he is happy about it. He noted that there have been many contacts between leaders of the two countries during these years. There have also been increasing exchanges between people of different walks of life of the two countries, including parliamentarians, noted nongovernmental personages and those of scientific and technological, cultural and economic and trade circles, and trade has also expanded between the two countries. He is accompanied on the visit by his wife He Liliang and director Chen Zhaoyuan of the second Asian Affairs Department of the Foreign Ministry. Also present at the airport to see him off were diplomatic envoys and officials of India and Sri Lanka in China. [Excerpts] [OW251620 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 25 Jun 81]

ZAIRE MILITARY DELEGATION--A Zaire military delegation, led by Zaire army chief of staff Lt Gen (Bokdi Enkoji Enkenja), arrived in Nanjing by special plane on the morning of 9 June. In the evening the Nanjing PLA Units gave a welcoming banquet for the visitors. Present at the banquet as hosts were Zhang Ming, deputy commander of the Nanjing PLA Units; and (Zhang Zhiying), deputy chief of staff of the Nanjing PLA Units. The delegation visited an army division of the Nanjing PLA Units and watched a demonstration of military skills on 10 June. The delegation left Nanjing for Shanghai on 11 June. [OW141035 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Jun 81 OW] He Yixiang, commander of the Shanghai Garrison Command of the Chinese PLA, and his wife 11 June gave a banquet to welcome the Zaire military delegation led by chief of state of the army of the Republic of Zaire. The military delegation arrived in Shanghai at noon on 11 June and was greeted at the airport by Commander He Yixiang and his wife. [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Jun 81 OW]

CSO: 4005/687

PARTY AND STATE

SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM, PARTY LEADERSHIP EXPLAINED

Socialist Superiority

Chengdu CHENGDU RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 81 p 3

[Article by Qi Ping (7871 1627): "Superiority of the Socialist System Depends on Us To Give It Full Scope"]

[Text] The socialist system is a brand new system in the history of human society; it is far superior to any social system of the past. About this, all those who suffered in the old society have a personal understanding. People firmly believe that only socialism can save China, and they enthusiastically sing "Socialism is Fine!"

Some people may ask: since socialism enjoys superiority, why has its superiority not been fully demonstrated? The main reasons are: First, sabotage by the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, which brought our national economy to the brink of collapse, damaged the enthusiasm of the masses of the people, caused the loss of a great deal of social wealth, and wasted much of the precious time we could have spent on economic construction. As they resorted to turmoil and sabotage for long periods of time, how could the superiority of the socialist system be given full play? Second, we made "leftist" mistakes in providing guidance in our economic work, blindly pursued a rapid pace and high targets, and we were too anxious to achieve results; this too resulted in, and aggravated, the serious imbalance in the proportionate relationships in our national economy and affected the improvement and elevation of the people's livelihood. If we ignore conditions in the country and fail to operate according to objective economic laws, how can we give full play to the superiority of the socialist system? We cannot weaken or lose our confidence in the socialist cause just because the superiority of the socialist system has not been fully demonstrated. Some people, upon seeing that our party seeks truth from facts in order to sum up our experience and lessons and rectify the defects, mistakes in our work, start to doubt, deny the superiority of our socialist system, thinking that socialism is not as good as capitalism; this thinking and view is very wrong.

Of course, giving full play to the superiority of the socialist system still depends on our subjective efforts. Some have given the analogy that the superiority of the socialist system is like hidden minerals which are buried underground; it is up to us to exploit them before they can become useful to us. That is to

say, we simply cannot do without people's subjective efforts if we wish to turn the superiority of the socialist system into reality. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Establishment of the socialist system opened up a road leading to the ideal world, but realization of the ideal world still depends on our diligent efforts."

According to both positive and negative experiences and lessons of many years in the past, in order to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system we must especially pay attention to the following three questions:

First, we must adhere to the four basic principles, resolutely uphold and carry out the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and do a good job in our economic construction in accordance with objective economic laws. This is the fundamental guarantee for demonstrating the superiority of the socialist system.

Second, we must maintain social stability. The painful lesson of the 10-year turmoil negatively illustrates that, in order to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system, we must maintain and develop the political situation of stability and unity. The work conference convened by the party central committee decided to carry out further readjustment in our economy and to realize further political stability. Only by conscientiously upholding and carrying out this principle can we give full play to the superiority of the socialist system.

Third, we must engage in study, work and labor with the attitude of masters. Establishment of the socialist system determined the status of the laborers of our country as masters; hence, we must have a sense of responsibility and labor attitude commensurate with masters so as to struggle hard and work with zeal at our respective posts and do our best to make further contributions to economic readjustment and construction of the four modernizations. Some think that the superiority of the socialist system is to enable them to get more money and do less work. In reality, this is a misunderstanding of the superiority of the socialist system. These people may think about the superiority of the socialist system, but they are unwilling to make additional efforts by sweating more and making more contributions in order to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system. Such a viewpoint and attitude is consciously despised by laborers.

We firmly believe that, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and through hard struggle by the people of the whole country, the superiority of our socialist system is bound to be increasingly revealed and fully demonstrated along with the progress of the four modernizations; any pessimistic tune is groundless.

Party Leadership

Chengdu CHENGDU RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 81 p 2

[Article by Lu Rongguang [4151 2837 2725]: "Firmly Believe in Party Leadership, Firmly Adhere to Party Leadership"]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party is a long tested great party and the core of leadership for the people of all China. This is no longer a problem in theory

or in practice, but a catastrophe has somehow aroused some people to harbor a certain degree of doubt about this fundamental question.

After making mistakes, can the party still lead us forward? Indeed, our party has made mistakes. Since the founding of our state, in a rather long period of time it made "leftist" mistakes and Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk also took advantage of the serious mistakes of our party and created a catastrophe. How are we to treat these mistakes? Can the party still lead after making these mistakes?

Historical practice tells us that there is no one in the world who does not make any mistake and there is no political party which does not make any mistakes.

The revolutionary mission our party is to accomplish is unprecedented. Marxism only pointed out the basic principles and direction of development for socialism; as to how to concretely build socialism and how to apply the basic principles of socialism to this big country of ours which has evolved from a semifeudal and semicolonial society with a backward economy and culture, we must find that out for ourselves. In this process, mistakes are hardly avoidable, and failures and setbacks are also likely to occur. Even though our cause has suffered setbacks, from the overall view our socialist cause has still achieved great results. The brand new socialist system in human history has already been established in a China, which has the largest population; we have already gradually established an independent, relatively complete industrial system and national economic system; the level of the people's material and cultural life has been improved to a definite degree. As far as results and defects are concerned, we cannot just look at one side and overlook the other side.

Lenin said more than 60 years ago: "Openly admit mistakes, reveal the causes of mistakes, analyse the environment which fostered the mistakes, and carefully discuss the methods to correct the mistakes—these are the indicators of a serious party." The mistakes made by our party have always depended on the party itself for revelation and correction. Experience of success is of course very precious; lessons of failure play a special role in the perception of truth. After leading the whole country to smash the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has restored and developed our fine tradition and workstyle in seeking truth from facts, proceeding from actualities in everything, and uniting theory with practice, and openly acknowledged that since the late 1950's the guiding ideology of the party has made "leftist" mistakes by taking class struggle as the key link, resorting to an expansion of class struggle, being too anxious to see results in our economic construction and too anxious to effect the transition in production relations, violating objective economic laws, and thereby ascertained the sources of illness that caused the setbacks and calamities, genuinely solved the question of the line regarding how to build socialism in China, after all, and thus formulated corresponding principles and policies. During the past 2 years and more, our party has solved exceedingly complicated problems which we had not been able to solve for over 20 years, rectified a large number of cases of injustice, false accusations, and mistakes, and restored and furtherdeveloped socialist democracy and a legal system. As for the national economy, which was brought to the brink of collapse by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it is carrying out effective measures of readjustment; it has adopted various effective measures to gradually improve the

livelihood of the vast ranks of the masses of the people. Our party has adhered to, and improved, the party's leadership, readjusted and consolidated the party's leading cores at various levels, gradually carried out division of work between the party and the government, and insisted on improving the party's workstyle. All this indicates that our party is courageous and determined to adhere to the truth and correct its mistakes; it is good at summing up historical experience and carrying out study in the midst of failures and setbacks; it is oriented toward the future and is not afraid of discarding all inherited burdens; it is equipped with courage and insight and is able to pose and solve new problems in a timely way in the midst of changing situations; it is wholeheartedly dedicated to serving the people, and courageous in shouldering its responsibilities toward the people. Our party is full of vigor and confident of achieving certain victory in its own cause.

Because some people see that the party has made mistakes, they begin to doubt the party's leadership capability. This shows that they still lack sufficient understanding of the Communist Party. Our party takes the liberation of all mankind as its own responsibility and makes no attempt to make any private gains. Our party has Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as its guide and is capable of continuing to sum up experience in practice and master objective laws; our party has blood-and-flesh links with the vast ranks of the masses of the people and its strength is inexhaustible; our party is open and aboveboard, capable of mastering the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, and ready to correct its own mistakes when identified. During the period of our democratic revolution, our party corrected the mistakes of line made by Chen Duxiu, Wang Ming, and others, formulated and adhered to the correct line, principles and policies, and achieved the great victory for our democratic revolution. Today, the party has become even more mature politically; with its 30 years of experience in carrying out socialist construction, it is altogether capable of leading our socialist cause and achieving victory.

The Chinese Communist Party is the pillar of strength of the Chinese people. The party's leadership is the fundamental guarantee of socialism, without which socialist modernization will come to nothing. We must consciously unite around the party Central Committee, forge a single will together, quietly immerse ourselves in hard work, and achieve fine results on various fronts with the attitude of masters.

9255

CSD: 4005/655

PARTY AND STATE

CCP SECRETARIAT SCREENS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

OW141348 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] On the eve of the convening of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, a five-member group of the CCP Central Committee secretariat, on instructions from Comrade Deng Xiaoping, is screening a number of CCP Central Committee members for the second time. The statements made by these members in recent years; their stand on the current line, principles and policies; their self-criticism in the ideological struggle against leftism; and the views they have aired along with others are also put under examination. This practice is a serious violation of the "guiding principles for inner-party political life."

On the eve of the convening of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, a few persons of the CCP Central Committee secretariat have decided on who will be allowed to speak at the plenary session; who will not be allowed to do so. This is a violation of the party constitution. Although it is the responsibility of the secretariat to do such work, the secretariat should not take on what should be done by a plenary session of the CCP Central Committee or by the party national congress.

In addition, the secretariat is an organ under the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee, not the private office of any leader. However, the secretariat has to report all major matters to Comrade Deng Xiaoping for the final decision. This practice cannot be considered normal.

Furthermore, the speeches of some members of the Political Bureau are revised time and again to accord with the tone set by the secretariat. Some members of the CCP Central Committee have even been deprived of their right to speak. This has obviously hindered the promotion of democracy within the party.

It is true that party members have a lot of complaints about the domestic and foreign policies pursued in the past few years. At the forthcoming plenary session, members of the CCP Central Committee may speak sharply against the top leaders of the party Central Committee. However, it is impossible to solve practical problems by suppressing differing views and not allowing people to criticize certain leaders, not to mention the upholding of their prestige.

The 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the 12th party national congress have been postponed time and again only because several principal leaders of the party Central Committee have differences of opinion on personnel matters and current policies.

Trampling on party democracy, violating the party constitution, abusing one's authority and making decisions without authorization on matters that can only be decided by a plenary session of the party Central Committee or by a party national congress are undoubtedly aimed at hindering the progress of the sixth plenary session's work and preventing it from adopting correct resolutions. Such willful acts can only cause an ever greater split in the party Central Committee, as well as ever greater confusion in work at lower levels.

CSO: 4005/689

PARTY AND STATE

'XINHUA' CARRIES BIOGRAPHY OF ZHAO ZIYANG

OM291236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 29 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, June 29 (XINHUA)--Following is a biography of Zhao Ziyang, the newly-elected vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

Born in 1919 in Huaxian County, Henan Province, Zhao Ziyang joined the Communist Youth League in March 1932 and the Communist Party in February 1936.

During the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, he served as secretary of the working committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Huaxian County, secretary of the county party committee, head of the organization and propaganda departments of the North Henan Prefectural Party Committee and secretary of the second and fourth prefectures' party committees in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan base area.

During the war of liberation, he was made secretary of the fourth prefecture's party committee in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan base area, deputy secretary of the Tonghai area party committee and secretary of the Nanyang Prefectural Party Committee.

After the founding of new China, he served as member, Standing Committee member and secretary general of the South China Sub-Bureau of the party Central Committee, head of its rural work department and deputy secretary of the sub-bureau. He later became member of the secretariat, second secretary and first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee; secretary of the party committee and vice-chairman of the revolutionary committee of the Inner Mongolian autonomous region; secretary and first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee; chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee and political commissar of the Guangzhou units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Then he became first secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee and first political commissar of the P.L.A. Chengdu units. After that he was elected vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's political consultative conference and appointed vice-premier and premier of the State Council.

Zhao Ziyang was a member of the Tenth Party Central Committee and of the Eleventh Central Committee and an alternate member of its Political Bureau. He was elected a member of the Political Bureau at the fourth plenary session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee and a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at the fifth plenary session of the Central Committee.

PARTY AND STATE

'XINHUA' CARRIES BIOGRAPHY OF HU YAOBANG

OW291228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 29 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, June 29 (XINHUA)--Following is a biography of Hu Yaobang who was just elected chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Born in a poor peasant family in 1915 in Liuyang County, Hunan Province, Hu Yaobang joined the Communist Youth League in 1930 and was admitted into the communist party in 1933. He left his home village at the age of 14 to join the revolution at the red base area where he did work among children and later became secretary general of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League in the central Soviet base area.

He took part in the famous long march in 1934 and served for a time as secretary of the Youth League general branch in a Red Army unit. He served as deputy director of the political department of the Chinese people's anti-Japanese military and political college and head of the organization department of the military commission during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. During the war of liberation, he served as political commissar of a column and director of the political department of an army group of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

During the early post-liberation period, he served as secretary of the North Sichuan Regional Party Committee and concurrently chairman of the regional administrative office. In 1952, he became secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth League, and in 1965 first secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee.

Since the downfall of the gang of four, he has served successively as head of the organization and propaganda departments of the C.P.C. Central Committee, third secretary of the central commission for inspecting discipline and secretary general of the C.P.C. Central Committee.

He was a member of the eighth and eleventh party Central Committees. He was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee at the third plenary session of the eleventh Central Committee and general secretary of the party Central Committee at the fifth plenary session.

CSO: 4020/217

PARTY AND STATE

CCP TO HOLD PLENARY SESSION 'SOON'

OW110333 Tokyo KYODO in English 0343 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, June 11 KYODO--The Chinese Communist Party will soon hold its sixth general meeting of the Central Committee in Beijing to discuss major party issues, Chinese Vice Premier Wan Li has confirmed.

He gave the confirmation at a meeting with a goodwill delegation from the Japanese Diet (parliament) here Wednesday.

Wan said the committee meeting will be concluded before the end of this month after discussing pending key issues, including the review of the communist party's history in the past 32 years since the liberation of the Chinese continent in 1949.

During the meeting, discussions are expected also to center on the issue of assessing the achievements the late Chairman Mao Zedong and selection of a new party leadership, Wan said.

He told the Japanese delegation headed by Kunio Tanabe, a Liberal-Democrat, that the Chinese Communist Party has spent nearly a year in preparation for the upcoming meeting, as it has made it necessary to because the differences in opinions of the party members on these pending key issues were to be coordinated.

Touching on Chinese agricultural affairs, Wan said the Chinese Government encourages peasants to acquire more scientific and technical knowledge, so that their income will increase steadily.

CSO: 4020/217

PARTY AND STATE

'SHAM REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER' OF LEFTISM DENOUNCED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jun 81 p 4

[Article by Ma Zhufu [7456 4534 1133]: "On Sham Revolutionary Character of 'Leftism'"]

[Text] Why is the influence of the leftwing line and leftwing ideology so widespread, forming a habit among many people and hard to obliterate? Among other things, one cannot but feel that it is closely linked with the sham revolutionary character of "leftism."

For more than 20 years, "leftism" could confuse people because it appeared to be very "revolutionary" and "orthodox," with a sort of sham revolutionary character. Thereupon, some people felt that one should be "leftwing" in order to be revolutionary in politics, brilliant in ideology and progressive in economics. Thus, they adhered, for a long time, to the viewpoint that "leftism" was better than "rightism" and that one would rather be "leftwing" than rightwing. Even today, some people, when observing issues, still cannot change this habit. They always like to regard things from the "leftwing" viewpoint and weigh them with the "leftwing" standard. They always doubt whether the many policies and measures formulated after bringing order out of chaos are "revolutionary" and "orthodox." One can thus see the gravity of the evils created by the sham revolutionary character of "leftism." Exposing the disguise, falsity and deception of "leftism" and liberating oneself from its ideological shackles possess an extremely important significance in consciously carrying out the lines and policies formulated since the party's Third Plenary Session and promoting the steady progress of the four modernizations construction.

That "leftism" has a sham revolutionary character is because it gives people a revolutionary and progressive illusion. What is "leftism"? Transcending the times and the current conditions and taking chances on lines and policies and in actions are "leftism." In other words, it is to depart from the current reality and the practice of the majority, to exceed the definite stage of development of the objective process in ideology, to consider fantasy as reality and forcefully to carry out future feasibilities. Those who fail to observe conscientiously the conditions of China and are impatient for success are most easily misled by the "leftwing" revolutionary illusion.

We only need to review our history to see clearly how misleading is the sham revolutionary character of "leftism." In 1958, when there was no new great development of the agricultural productive force and the advanced cooperative was barely formed, there should have been a period of consolidation, but we were impatient for communalization, claiming that the people's commune of workers, peasants, merchants, students and soldiers, of agriculture, forestry, livestock, sideline industry and fishery, and of the government and the cooperative was the "golden bridge" to communism. By the time of the Great Cultural Revolution, we should have continued to concentrate on developing the productive force in agriculture, but instead, we launched the so-called "transition in poverty" and "chopping off the tail of capitalism," vigorously cutting down the family sidelines and the private plots of the commune members and abolishing the rural trading market. On distribution, in particular, we violated the principle of distribution according to labor and promoted "political points" and egalitarianism. In the towns, we should have permitted the coexistence of the diversified economy for a fairly long period of time, yet for the past 20 years, we continuously have stressed the socialist reform, vigorously merging and advancing industry and commerce and the handicraft industry, to the extent that all the private and joint state and private enterprises have vanished. Some handicraft industries under the collective ownership system were run according to the operation and management system of state-operated industries, turning them into large-scale collectives and small-scale ownership by all the people. In economic construction, we should have considered objective conditions and national strength, respected the basic economic laws and properly handled the overall balance, yet we, for a long time in the past, blindly sought speed, large reserves and high targets. In economic management, we should have had both concentration and dispersion, fully developed the positive side of the industries and activated the economy, yet what we practiced was a highly concentrated centralism, mainly under administrative control, so that the local governments and industries did not even have the necessary authority to operate, thereby seriously damaging the enthusiasm of the industries and the staff and workers. Looked at today, many of the practices in the past were obviously wrong, but in those days, because of their strong "revolutionary" coloring, they were supported, consciously or unconsciously, by many people. Such was the way it was. Who would not want to take the "golden bridge" to communism? Who had the nerve not to chop off the "capitalist tail" growing on their rear ends? Naturally, everyone supported things which stressed politics. Who had the nerve to oppose the socialist reform of industry and commerce and the handicraft industry? Who would not want to advance rapidly in the socialist construction? As a high degree of centralism was a major characteristic of the socialist economy, naturally it should be practiced.

In fact, to determine whether something is revolutionary, we must not only see whether a slogan has a revolutionary coloring or whether the measure is compatible with our subjective desires, but must look at practice and the result. What is revolution? According to the historical materialist principle, it is when the proletariat or the historically progressive revolutionary class, representing the interests and demands of the broad masses, change the backward production relations and superstructure incompatible with the development of the productive force, so that production relations are adjusted to the development of the productive force and the superstructure serves the economic foundation. The criterion to determine

whether something is revolutionary or not is mainly whether it liberates the productive force and promotes its development, and whether it improves the life of the masses. Since liberation, we readjusted production relations many times. Some of the readjustments were good, harmonizing the production relations with the productive force, but others were not so good, resulting in the production relations blocking the development of the productive force. Under most situations, the readjustment was not good, mainly because of impetuosity, readjusting the production relations in excess of the development level of the productive force. Lenin said: "For a true revolutionary, the greatest danger, perhaps the only danger, is exaggerated revolutionary character, forgetting to suitably and effectively apply the limits and conditions of the revolutionary method." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 575) In our practices in the past, we exaggerated revolutionary character and failed to seek the truth from the facts. In the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the 10-year calamity, we did much readjustment of the production relations, calling it revolution, but actually it was a disaster and calamity. As a result, the productive force suffered serious destructions and the people paid for it. That "leftwing" things have a sham revolutionary character is also because they have the "orthodox" label. Why are people so forceful and vociferous when combating rightism yet so apprehensive when resisting leftism as if they were in the wrong? Besides the fact that we have been living for a long time in a "leftwing" atmosphere, giving attention to resisting only rightism, not "leftism," thus creating an abnormal psychology, our failure to understand correctly the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought has a lot to do with it, especially after Lin Biao and the "gang of four" confused the Marxist-Leninist and Mao Zedong theories. They often attached the "orthodox" label to "leftwing" things, thus making it even more difficult to recognize the "leftwing" mistakes. In the past, for instance, we were impatient for results in economics, launching many ventures in excess of the objective reality, even to the extent of indulging in vain hopes of a rapid transition to communism; in politics, we always looked at the contradictions in society and the classes and the class relationship with the "leftwing" view, constantly expanding the class struggle. In those days, when people were asked to do so, the words of many revolutionary teachers were cited as the basis.

While Marxism is the universal truth which is accurate anywhere in the world, its application must be integrated with the national conditions of the particular countries. In the past, many among us only stuck to the conventions in the books, forgetting the national conditions of our country, forgetting that ours is a large country of 1 billion population and 800 million peasants, that its economy, technology and culture were still relatively backward, that its commodity economy was undeveloped, and that its handicraft-type labor still occupied a certain proportion in the national economy. When the objective conditions were disregarded, naturally problems emerged. Mistakes became inevitable when we failed to analyze scientifically and objectively the social contradictions, the classes and the class struggle in accordance with dialectic materialism and historical materialism, but made idealistic appraisals, especially when we kept to the old ways at times of great changes in class relations.

History develops, and so must Marxism. What kind of society is socialism? According to Marx and Engels, beside the fact that politically the proletariat must become the ruling class and enforce a proletarian dictatorship, there are mainly

three requirements: First, as the socialist society emerges from the capitalist society, in all aspects, in the economy and in consciousness and morals, there are vestiges of the old society from which it sprang, and the bourgeois legal authority still exists. Second, Marx envisaged the victory of socialism first in economically developed countries. Third, after the success of the socialist revolution in the economically developed countries, the "all-society public ownership system" of production means will be introduced, and commodities, commodity exchange and currency will vanish. However, the process of historical development was not the same as Marx's original conception. The revolution did not first succeed in economically developed countries, but in relatively backward Russia. After World War II, it succeeded in such a semifeudal and semicolonial country as China which was economically even more backward. After the victory of the revolution in such a country, how much of the vestiges of the old society was left? How long would it take for them to vanish? What kind of economic pattern should be adopted? Marx and Engels said nothing, and it was impossible for them to have said anything. To answer these questions and properly handle our socialist cause, we must integrate Marxism-Leninism with China's reality.

Here we must particularly point out that, to expose the sham revolutionary character of "leftism," we should rectify the theories. In the past, some basic theories were confused. The more pronounced manifestations were: First, the relationship between the material and the spiritual was turned upside down. Man's subjective initiative was stressed to the extent that it could exceed the objective feasibility, and the cult of the individual was pushed almost to religious fanaticism. Second, the relationships between the productive force and production relations and between the economic foundation and the superstructure were confused, resorting to any means to disparage the importance of developing the productive force, forbidding people to shift the emphasis of work to productive construction, and artificially creating the "continuous revolution" in the realm of production relations and the superstructure. Third, the principal contradictions and the main tasks were wrongly handled, stressing the class struggle for a long time and continuously expanding it. Fourth, the method of solving contradictions was distorted, and the formula of unity--criticism--unity which must be followed in solving the contradictions within the people was discarded. All these must be thoroughly rectified.

The sham revolutionary character of "leftism" is extremely dangerous, and extremely difficult to counter. As everyone knows, it was impossible, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," to resist the "leftwing" things with correct things, and those attempting to do so were labeled rightwing. Thus, the odd phenomenon of resisting "leftism" with something even more "leftwing," and the greater the resistance, the more "leftwing" often appeared. If you claimed that a certain individual was a capitalist roader, I would say that, not only a capitalist roader, but a renegade and a special agent as well! Only thus would one be able to overwhelm the other party. Except a minority, most of the people, either due to lack of discernment, obedience to the organization or personal considerations, often accepted and carried out "leftwing" things to various degrees. Therefore, the proposal to purge the "leftwing" influence at present is highly necessary and timely. Naturally, purging the "leftwing" influence today is different from the struggle against leftwing opportunism in history. Today, the party's lines are correct, and there is no leftwing opportunist line which calls for our struggle. The "leftism" discussed at present refers mainly to the influence of the "leftwing" things of the past 20 plus years left in people's thinking. Purging the "leftwing" influence is for the purpose of maintaining political unity with the Party Central Committee and implementing more successfully the lines and policies formulated by it.

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM URGED AGAINST 'LEFTISM'

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 6 May 81 p 2

[Article by Yu Shihying [0151 0013 5391]: "Study Dialectical Materialism Well and Fundamentally Clear Up "Leftist" Ideology"]

[Text] In order to thoroughly eradicate "leftist" thinking and errors, it is pressingly necessary at present that we study dialectical materialism.

The study and application of dialectical materialism in order to clear up the ideological influence of the "left" is first of all made necessary by the fact that the erroneous tendency of the "left" has very deep ideological roots. China is a country in which the proportion of the lower middle class is extremely high, their influence is very great, and this class was the main cause of our committing the ideological errors of "leftism." Petty-bourgeois thinking has the characteristics of being illusory, fanatical, and self-satisfied, and for that reason it is easy for it to be too subjective, one-sided, and superficial. These defects have appeared many times in the history of our party, and in the more than 20 years since 1957 have been responsible for the main body of the erroneous "leftist" tendency. These "leftist" errors are not only prominently manifested in economic work, but in work on all fronts and the breadth of their scope, their destructiveness, and the depth of their pernicious influence are unprecedented; furthermore, leftist things all have correct-seeming reason to defend them, which has increased the great difficulty of overcoming this kind of error. For this reason, it is necessary to eradicate this kind of influence from our thinking and bring order out of chaos before we can return to the correct path of Marxism. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago: "If we want to oppose subjectivism, then we must propagate materialism and propagate dialectics." In accordance with this good method of treating the "stubborn disease of leftism," we must conscientiously study and apply dialectical materialism. Second, looking back over the history of our party, dialectical materialism has already been used to treat the error of "leftism." Not long after the party was established, a policy of rash action appeared, and afterward there also appeared the third "leftist" error of Wang Ming's line, resulting in serious losses. From the Zunyi Meeting to the formation of the party's "21 July college," and in particular during the period of rectification of practices at Yanan, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, using the weapon of dialectical materialism, there was an overall clearing up of the "leftist" line, and our own revolutionary path was found, enabling the entire party to achieve unprecedented unity and guaranteeing the great victory of the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. Again, in our present, actual

struggle to clear up the errors of "leftism," it is also very necessary to apply dialectical materialism. Since the "gang of four" was smashed, we have launched a program of education in the dialectical-materialist ideological line among the masses of cadres, and it has had an immense effect in rectifying the errors of "leftism." However, we must also be aware of the fact that, although the previous stage of education in an ideological line was rather effective in propagating the materialist theory of reflection and in passing judgment on the idealism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and its ideological influence, nevertheless it does not appear to have been effective in propagating dialectics, passing judgment upon the metaphysical viewpoint of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and clearing up over 20 years of "leftist" thinking methods. And so, this kind of ideological influence is still rather prominent. Therefore, at present we must prominently propagate materialist dialectics and overcome metaphysics.

How can we apply dialectical materialism to clear up "leftist" thinking? According to the spirit of the Central Committee's work conference, we must place emphasis on solving the following problems:

First, we must place thinking and existence in a proper relationship to each other, and clearly recognize the actual situation in our country and in our own areas, as a fundamental basis for solving the problems of economic construction. For a long time in the course of socialist construction we have been committing the errors of the "left," and the cause of the problem has been that we have departed from an understanding of the actual situation in China. This was a violation of the fundamental principle that existence determines thinking and thinking reflects existence. Ignoring the objective existence of the fact that our country has a population of 1 billion, of whom 800 million are peasants, our economic base is meager, and our economic and cultural level is low, relying on our subjective wishes and enthusiasm, we blindly proceeded with construction. The work conference of the Central Committee, guided by Marxist philosophical principles, correctly dealt with the relationship between thinking and existence and brought our party's programs and policies into line with the actual situation in our country, a sign that our party's line has further split from the errors of the "left." Each and every local party committee and government must also state clearly the relative positions of thinking and existence, tie in the actual situation in the various areas in implementing the Central Committee's line, programs, and policies, and correctly formulate their own concrete work methods; only in this way can we effectively do a good job of economic readjustment. In the previous period, in some places there was the situation of people engaging in blind, redundant construction, crowding out larger enterprises with small ones, crowding out advanced projects with backward ones, and crowding out old factories with new ones, and the main cause was that they did not proceed from a basis of understanding the actual situation within and outside the province, and within and outside the county; and though they did not understand the situation as a whole and did not have a clear idea of the advantages and disadvantages of their own area regarding natural resources and economic and technical conditions, they nevertheless went ahead with planning and construction. In order to change this circumstance, all areas and units must adhere to the materialist standpoint that existence determines thinking, persevere in the principle of seeking truth from facts, research the actual circumstances in our country and in our own areas, sum up all the relevant factors, analyze them repeatedly, make the best of the existing advantages and avoid further failures, make policy decisions on the basis of all this, and steadily set about doing a good job of the work of readjustment.

Secondly, we must learn how to take an overall view of problems, overcome one-sidedness, and correctly comprehend and implement the party's line, programs, and policies. In the past, the serious setbacks that our party met with in the course of certain historical turning-points and crises were for the most part due to our having made an idealistic evaluation of the objective situation, and the error of this kind of idealism tends to arise from being too one-sided in our thinking methods. In the first 2 years following the smashing of the "gang of four," in our economic construction we were still overly anxious to obtain quick results, and some unrealistic, overly high goals and slogans were proposed, and the ideological cause of this was, on the one hand, underestimating the difficulties, which accumulated over a long period of time, arising from serious disproportions in the national economy and, on the other hand, expecting too much from the existing favorable circumstances, the two factors causing us to fall into a subjective idealism. Our country at present is in the midst of a historical period in which the new is overlapping with the old; our minds are still filled with old concepts and with the force of habit; and we still do not understand and are not familiar with a great many new things, new situations, and new problems appearing in the course of building the four modernizations, and under these circumstances it is easy for us to become one-sided. For this reason, we definitely must learn how to take an overall view of problems from the standpoint of dialectics. In particular with regard to questions relating to the party's line or to important guiding principles and policies, we must gain an overall understanding of these, and strenuously avoid one-sidedness. In the course of implementing the party's line, programs, and policies, some problems may appear, and we must take an overall view of these problems, and analyze them concretely; we cannot take one aspect of a problem as representing the entire problem, seeing only one side, or part of a problem and take it to be the main thing or the entire problem, and thus negate the inherent correctness of the programs and policies themselves. Only by making an overall, concrete study of each and every aspect of every economic and political program and policy, tying in the actual circumstances in the various areas in implementing them, will we be able to implement the great programs of economic readjustment and political stabilization.

Third, we must get a good grasp on our main direction, while at the same time being able to pay attention to another direction, solving problems as they arise. Materialist dialectics teaches us that due to the unequal force of contradictions, there is a distinction between principal and secondary in the two things contradicting each other; the principal and secondary aspects of contradiction condition each other and are transformed from one into the other, and for that reason in the development of contradictions in things there generally exists a continuous phenomenon of one tendency obscuring another, and the tendency being obscured can always rise up to become the main tendency. Due to the fact that our thinking has tended to be metaphysical to a serious degree, regarding the question of our struggle to oppose [erroneous] tendencies, for a long time we opposed only the tendency toward rightism and did not allow the necessary criticism and judgment to be carried out against the "leftist" tendency that had already appeared, with the result that the erroneous tendency toward the "left" was allowed to become more and more serious, creating extremely great losses for our party. At present, we are mainly opposing the erroneous tendency toward the "left," but we should also oppose rightist currents of thought which, in fact, have already appeared. We must not again be guilty of the erroneous method of "cutting with one knife"

(excessive uniformity) that we used in the past to combat certain tendencies; we must base ourselves upon the concrete circumstances that exist in the various areas and units, proceed from a basis of reality, and deal with problems as they arise and according to their nature. In the course of actual work, we must also pay attention to how one tendency tends to obscure another, be aware of both the positive and negative aspects of things, solve problems promptly, and prevent the transformation of contradictions. There are some comrades who grasp the main contradiction and understand all problems in an oversimplified way as things that can be easily solved; they do not analyze the "primary" and "secondary" aspects of contradictions, the positive and negative aspects of things that are mutually dependent and are transformed from one into the other, but in an isolated and static way grasp the focal points, and then when the secondary aspect of a contradiction comes to the fore they become panic-stricken and run from one extreme to another. For this reason, in promoting any economic policy decision or economic measure, we must be aware of its positive and negative aspects, of both its beneficial and harmful aspects, and as quickly as possible adopt measures to solve its side effects and negative aspect; we must not wait for the problem to spread before trying to rectify it, so as to avoid giving people the impression that we vacillate between left and right, having a bad effect on the seriousness of party policy.

We must take this occasion of protesting against the ideology and errors of the "left" to conscientiously study Marxist philosophy, heighten the theoretical level of the entire party, and promote the glorious dialectical materialist tradition of our party.

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PARTY AND STATE

EMANCIPATION OF INDIVIDUALITY DISCUSSED

IBXD21541 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 8 May 81 p 3

[Article by He Yulin (0149 3768 2631): "Commenting on 'The Emancipation of Individuality'"]

[Text] Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee, our people have experienced a great emancipation of the mind under the leadership of the central authorities, in breaking down the barriers of the personality cult created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," smashing the shackles of the "two whatevers," and clearing away the evil influence of "leftist" thinking. The emancipation of the people's mind has enhanced our national spirit, boosted political stability and unity, and the steady development of the economy, and thus laid down a solid ideological foundation for quickly turning our country into a modern state with a socialist material and spiritual civilization. The emancipation of the mind is to keep subjectivity consistent with objectivity. As objective reality keeps developing unceasingly, we always need emancipation of the mind. This is a firm and unshakable truth.

In the course of emancipation of the mind, a minority of people mistakenly reckon that our socialist system has fettered the free development of people's character, cast of mind, ability and interest. Some such individuals even think that the four basic principles have restricted the development of people's individuality. So, they advocate various opinions to demand "absolute freedom" and "emancipation" of individuality, in which they go so far as to confuse the "emancipation of individuality" advertised by the bourgeoisie with the emancipation of the mind advocated by our party. This is a mistake, at least a misunderstanding.

There is Never Absolute Freedom for the Development of Individuality

Every person in human society has his own distinct individuality. This is an objective fact which has existed since man developed from the [word indistinct]. Marxism recognizes this fact and is in favor of the development of individuality. In his report entitled "On Coalition Government" made in 1945, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out, "Some people suspect that the Chinese communists are opposed to the development of individual initiative.... But they are mistaken. It is foreign oppression and feudal oppression that cruelly fetter the development of the individual initiative of the Chinese people.... It is the very task of

the new democracy we advocate to remove these fetters and stop this destruction, to guarantee that the people can freely develop their individuality within the framework of society." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 939) Marxian even related the free development of individuality to the lofty ideal of the proletariat--communism. In "Communist Manifesto," when talking about communist society, Marx and Engels said, "The free development of every individual is the condition for the free development of all people there." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273) "The free development of every individual" which they mentioned includes the free development of every person's individuality. Therefore, the liberation of the whole human being, the realization of the emancipation of man, including the all-round development of people's individuality, is precisely the ultimate goal which the proletariat has unceasingly been fighting for.

But, can individuality develop without any restrictions, without any conditions, or in other words, "absolutely freely?" Modern science and the history of man have proved that it is impossible. Modern psychology reckons, when an individual arrives naked in the world, the shaping and development of his or her individuality is decided by various factors such as human psychological quality, psychological state, and social living conditions; the latter, including social economic status and (word indistinct) activities of man, family and social environment, are decisive. Therefore, the shaping and development of a man's individuality has to be restricted not only by his own physiological and psychological conditions, but also by external social relations.

This is the very fact of history. In primitive society, because of the extremely low level of productivity, the individuality of primitive man always received destruction and constraint from natural forces which man could hardly resist, while having to be restricted by the common interest of his own clan and tribe. The character, cast of mind, ability and interest of primitive man could only be retained and developed under the premise of working together sharing equally, obeying collective decisions, avenging compatriots and courageously fighting for his tribe.

In a class society, every individual occupies a certain economic status, and is subject to a certain class. "They do not exist in these social relations as an individual but as a member of a certain class." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 82-83) Therefore, in a class society, the individuality of man cannot be separated from his class nature, since class relations become the major social relations. The individuality of every individual is restricted by class relations as well as constrained by the level of development of productivity. While mentioning the individuality of profit gainers and capitalists, Marx and Engels noted, "Their individuality is restricted and decided by very concrete relations of class." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 84) In a class society, the broad masses of laboring people have no freedom at all to develop their individuality. The individuality of a laborer is restricted by his own class as well as fettered and destroyed by the exploiting classes that rule the society. In a slave society, slaves treated merely as "talking tools" could be sold, bought and slaughtered arbitrarily. In the Roman code, slaves got a status merely equal to livestock and miscellaneous objects. Archeological discoveries in our country showed that it was a very common practice for slave-owners to cruelly slaughter a great number of slaves to make them

funerary and sacrificial objects. What freedom was accorded to the individuality of slaves under such circumstances? In feudal society, the form of possession of the major means of production, that is land, maintained the personal bondage of peasants to landlords, while the strict feudal hierarchical system kept peasants on the lowest stratum of society. Under cruel economic exploitation and political oppression, the peasants did not have any freedom of individuality. In capitalist society, the proletariat are nothing more than hired slaves, driven to the machines of capitalists to produce surplus value for the latter. A proletarian has no freedom to develop his individuality but freedom to sell his labor. Take "white collar workers" of the contemporary Western world as an example. Compared to proletarians in modern times, they seem to have more freedom to develop individuality. But in fact, most of them, living on their wages, are forced to work so that the capitalists can grasp the maximum profit. So, their ability and interest, their initiative and invention have a chance to develop only if they accord with the capitalists' goal of seeking high profits, or if they are required by the capitalist state. This is the exact case as revealed by Marx and Engels, "In bourgeois society, capital has its independence and individuality whereas live individuals do not." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 266) In brief, in a class society, the individuality of the laboring people is extremely unfree, since the exploiting and oppressive system is the social origin which fetters and strangles the development of the laboring people's individuality. Therefore, in order to retain and develop their own individuality, the laboring people should overthrow this unreasonable social system, "abolish the conditions for survival which they have been facing hitherto, abolish the conditions for survival which is indispensable for the whole old society as well." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 85)

Socialist society has opened up a wide field for the development of the laboring people. However, this development of individuality is not "absolutely free," either. In our country, the development of individuality is subject to the restriction of the existing economic conditions and to the constraints of the existing social relations because the level of development of productivity still remains low, there still exists class struggle in society, the three major distinctions have not been removed, and distribution still has to observe the principle of distribution according to work as there still exist contradictions between state interests, collective interest and personal interests.

Thus it can be seen that the development of anyone's individuality is constrained by the level of development of productivity and social relations. Marxism never prates about so-called "absolute freedom." The freedom of development of individuality that we talk about is conditional and relative.

The Historical Nature and Hypocrisy of "The Emancipation of Individuality"

In fact, "the emancipation of individuality" is not at all a new concept. As far back as the renaissance in 14th and 15th century Europe, this concept was advocated by the humanist thinkers who represented the interests of the rising bourgeoisie. At that time, the whole of Europe was under the dark rule of feudal autocracy and theology, whereas the capitalist relations of production

began to take shape inside the feudal society. Although the rising bourgeoisie was eagerly demanding the development of capitalism, the large amount of hired labor needed was not available because peasants were tied to landlords' land under the feudal system of land ownership. The feudal system of guilds also prevented capitalist production from expanding its scale freely. In the meantime, feudal separatist rule and those outposts of the tax office which spread everywhere made it impossible for a large and united market needed by the capitalist economy to take shape. The rigid social estate system of feudalism deprived the rising bourgeoisie of their political rights--they had to take up the heavy burden of taxation and feudal obligation, while the feudal nobility always restrained them from developing capitalism by oppressing industry and commerce with the aid of political privileges. Under such circumstances, in order to protect their own interests and develop capitalism, the rising bourgeoisie was forced to stand up and fight against the feudal autocracy and its spiritual pillar--the religious theology. The renaissance was just a movement of emancipation of the mind raised by the rising bourgeoisie, which aimed at overthrowing the feudal system and religious theology in the name of reviving the ancient Greek and Roman culture. It was in this movement of emancipation of the mind, acclaimed by Engels as the "greatest and most progressive revolution that the human race has ever experienced," that the humanist thinkers combated theocracy with humanism, driving the spearhead toward the obscurantism and asceticism propagated by the feudal system and religious theology; that they courageously cried out the slogan of "emancipation of individuality" while enthusiastically praising man, the value of man, the dignity of man, and advocating the doctrine of indulging timely in pleasures. As a bourgeois slogan of emancipation of the mind, the "emancipation of individuality" not only reflected the aspirations of the bourgeoisie that wished to develop capitalism freely, but also those of the serfs that thirsted for getting rid of the feudal bondage and of helpers who hoped to cast off the fetters of feudal guilds. This antifeudal slogan, representing at that time the interests of the whole people and in accordance with the demand of historical development, was progressive and revolutionary under the contemporary historical situation. Nevertheless, it was also a hypocritical slogan in which the bourgeoisie, pretending to be the representative of the whole oppressed human race, substituted a general abstract man for a real man was subject to a certain class, and thus obliterated the class coloring of individuality. Actually, the bourgeoisie had chosen themselves as the model man of which they were talking and the individuality which they wanted to emancipate was also their own mean individuality which was closely related to selfishness, grime, a profit-before-everything mentality, deceitfulness, unscrupulousness, wanton extravagance, and so forth. The bourgeoisie just hoped that, having cast off the yoke of the feudal relations of production and acquired the freedom to sell their labor, the laboring masses would be able to provide them with cheap labor needed to develop capitalism. Having overthrown the feudal system and established their own rule, the bourgeoisie began to callously squeeze the surplus labor out of hired workers, cruelly quell the resistance of the proletariat, and try every means to suppress and abolish the individuality of proletarians. This further exposed the hypocrisy of "emancipation of individuality."

If the "emancipation of individuality" advocated during the stage of bourgeois revolution was a progressive, revolutionary slogan of emancipation of the mind, then it became an outworn, conservative and even reactionary one in the stage

of proletarian revolution. This is mainly because the "emancipation of individuality," as a slogan used by the bourgeoisie in the fight to oppose the feudal system and open up the road to capitalist development, has already finished its historical mission after the establishment of the capitalist system. The reason why the bourgeoisie again pick up the banner of "emancipation of individuality" when facing the proletarian revolution is entirely to protect their own reactionary rule and prevent the wheel of history from advancing. One hundred years ago, when the proletariat came upon the political stage and proclaimed their aim of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing the communist system, bourgeois thinkers raised in a flurry the banner of "emancipation of individuality," defiled communism as contrary to humanity by claiming that eliminating the capitalist relations of production and capital privilege was nothing other than the abolition of individuality. In reply to this, Marx and Engels said, "Thus it can be seen that all of you do admit that the individuality in your conception is nothing more than the belongings of capital owners and the private property of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, individuality like this should be abolished." "Indeed, the very thing we want to do is to eliminate the individuality and independence of capital owners." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 266-267)

Considered from a worldwide scope, as an antifeudal slogan, the "emancipation of individuality" raised by the bourgeoisie has already accomplished its historical mission. The revolution of the Paris commune in 1871 sounded for the first time in history the death knell of capitalism. From then on, capitalism began to decline and the bourgeoisie became more and more reactionary. Since the world entered the stage of imperialism and proletarian revolution at the turn of the century, the bourgeoisie has completely turned into a declining reactionary class. In such an epoch, only the reactionary bourgeoisie which wants to rescue itself from the destiny of decline would pick up that worn out ideological weapon of "emancipation of individuality" and use it to slander the socialist and communist systems, to oppose Marxism and proletarian revolution. Now, as history has arrived at the 1980's, the socialist system has been established, the exploiting classes and the exploiting system have been wiped away in our country. However, a bunch of people still call for the "emancipation of individuality" indiscriminately. Isn't this complete nonsense?

The "Emancipation of Individuality" Should Not Be Confused With Emancipation of the Mind

Some people think that the socialist system is to fetter people's free development of individuality. This opinion is wrong. The reason is, our socialist system was built up in a background where the exploiting system and oppressive system destroying the individuality of the laboring masses were abolished. And this assured once and for all the freedom of the broad masses of people to develop their own individuality. In the socialist system, where the people are master of the state as well as master of the means of production, everybody can give full play to their own ability and be rewarded according to their work, maintain equal, mutually helping and cooperative comradely relations

between each other and enjoy equal rights in receiving education, working and participating in public activities. Hence an unprecedentedly wide scope and free conditions have become available where the broad masses of people can fully sacrifice their own intelligence and wisdom, freely develop their own interests and hobbies while asserting their distinct character and cast of mind. In fact, it is just because the broad masses of people have given full play to their enthusiasm, vitality and initiative in constructing socialism, and have developed their individuality which is favorable to national and collective interests, that the socialist cause of our country is becoming more prosperous every day and developing smoothly.

Of course, we are not denying that there are still some factors hampering the development of people's individuality which is advantageous to national and collective interests. As the socialist system is still young, and still has to undergo practice, some concrete subsystems still need improvement. Due to the influence of the feudalism which has existed for thousands of years, and that of "leftist" thinking which has been dominant for years, due to the bureaucracy and autocracy of a small number of cadres, the legitimate demand for democracy by the broad masses has been unreasonably denied in a few departments and units; some specialist and genuinely talented people do not have a chance to give full play to their ability; certain leading cadres, neglecting the difference between the individuality of the masses, and insisting on uniformity in everything, improperly interfere with and restrict the development of people's individuality.... All these phenomena hurt the people's enthusiasm and initiative in constructing socialism, and hinder the free development of individuality. Our party is always opposed to these practices which are contrary to the fundamental interests of the country and the people, and unfavorable to the consolidation of the socialist system. To overcome and eliminate these phenomena will need much effort. However, it is wrong if we attribute these phenomena which hamper the development of individuality to our socialist system, because they were not brought about by the socialist system itself. On the contrary, they are incompatible with the socialist system. Only if we take measures to strengthen and consolidate the socialist system will we eventually be able to eliminate these unreasonable phenomena.

Although in a socialist society, an unprecedented development of the individuality of people is achieved, the ideal state of the development of individuality has not yet been reached. The reason is, the productivity of socialist society has not been highly developed, class struggle still exists, and the three big differences and various traditional concepts still remain. All of them fetter the development of individuality. The all-round and free development of the individuality of man can only be realized in communist society, where the material requirements for the all-round development of the individuality of man are satisfied, as the productivity is highly developed, "all resources of collective wealth are completely explored" and material wealth becomes extremely abundant; where the social origins fettering the all-round development of individuality have been removed, as the division of classes has been eliminated, all traditional concepts have been completely wiped away and people's

political consciousness has been greatly improved; where sufficient conditions for the all-round development of individuality are available, as the three major distinctions have been eliminated, and working is no longer a means for earning a living but the primary demand of people's lives. In short, only communist society is the ideal state for the all-round development of individuality. Since the socialist society is the bridge leading to communist society, we have to develop first of all the present socialist construction and persist in carrying out the socialist line, if we want to reach the future ideal state for the all-round development of individuality. Considered on this level, persistence in the four basic principles is not only the political guarantee for the construction of our powerful modern socialist state but also the necessary premise for achieving the all-round development of individuality. The view that persistence in the four basic principles will restrict the development of individuality is obviously wrong.

A small number of young people confuse the slogan of "emancipation of individuality" with the emancipation of the mind advocated by our party. This is a distortion of the latter. The emancipation of the mind proposed by the third plenary session of our party essentially means casting off the yoke of the personality cult created by the counterrevolutionary of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, smashing the shackles of the cliques "two whatevers" to eliminate the evil influence of "leftist" thinking, and getting rid of the fetters and handcuffs of various world outlooks of the exploiting classes. It also requires us to be practical and realistic in handling everything to combine the basic principles of Marxism with the practice of the socialist construction of China, and to make subjectivity accord with objectivity. Therefore, the emancipation of the mind we advocate is a Marxist slogan which is essentially different from that of the "emancipation of individuality" advocated by the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the aims of the two slogans are totally different too, as the aim of our party in advocating emancipation of the mind is to persist more firmly in the four basic principles so as to quickly build up a powerful modern socialist state, while the aim of the "emancipation of individuality" is to open up the road for the development of capitalism. Thus it can be seen that the "emancipation of individuality" and emancipation of the mind are totally unrelated. The "emancipation of individuality" of the bourgeoisie is definitely not the same as the emancipation of the mind advocated by Marxism. To confuse the "emancipation of individuality" with emancipation of the mind can only mess up people's thinking and interfere in the proper development of the great trend of emancipation of the mind. And the situation may be exploited by some ambitious people or give support to the critics who, under the influence of "leftist" thinking, keep complaining that emancipation of the mind is "in a terrible mess" and has gone "too far." Do you support emancipation of the mind? If so, then please give up the slogan of the "emancipation of individuality," because behind such a beautiful slogan really hides the new yoke of the bourgeoisie.

PARTY AND STATE

DENG'S MODERNIZATION PLAN FAILURE DISCUSSED

OW131352 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] The plan for the four modernizations has failed. The national economy and people's livelihood are faced with new difficulties, and the country finds itself in a difficult position. All these have been caused by the serious mistakes of some party and state leaders. Being dejected and frustrated because of the failure, they cannot come up with any feasible plan to extricate the country from its difficult position. Thus, they have made another serious mistake--these politicians who are incapable of leading the country politically go left one moment and go right the next. Sometimes they set forth some grand plans while having a bad fit of petty-bourgeois fanaticism, and sometimes they become pessimistic and lose their confidence.

The plan for a new long march, which was worked out according to Vice Chairman Deng's instructions, has failed completely. It was claimed in the past that the task of top priority was to build our country into a prosperous socialist state before the end of this century, with its economic level reaching that of a developed country. At that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping asserted: It does not take 20 years to fulfill the four-modernization plan in our country, and it can be fulfilled in 15 years or even a shorter period. Now this great ideal has become great empty talk.

It was claimed that by the end of this century the people would be ensured of a happy life, with 1,200 jin of food grain, 100 jin of meat and 200 eggs for each person a year. By then, there would be adequate medical and educational conditions for the people, and so on and so forth. However, the people are now asked to surmount difficulties, to endure poverty and hardships, not to put forward premature demands and not to hope for a (?better) life in the next few years.

It is impossible to work out any realistic plans under the guidance of an erroneous line and by doing things wrong. In such circumstances, it is inevitable to meet with failure. Because of failure, they are frustrated and have become pessimistic. Thus, they have gone from one extreme to another. Failing to see any prospects for the country and the people in the near future, they have said: the modernization level we are to reach in the next few years will

be only a preliminary one, the level of a comparatively well-off society. It will be impossible for us to reach the present level of economically developed countries. Thus, the slogan "realize the four modernizations in 15 years or even less" is a manifestation of leftist ideas.

Being unable to find a way for the country and the people to extricate themselves from their difficult position, some central leaders have repeatedly asserted that the major task for our country at present is make economic readjustment. But they have not yet definitely said how long readjustment will take. They first said that it would take 3 years, and then said that it would take 4-5 years. Some people now say that the economic readjustment may take 10 years. This means that our country has not yet had a concrete, feasible plan for economic readjustment, much less does it have a 10- to 20-year, long-term plan for economic development.

As Peng Zhen pointed out, a fit of petty-bourgeois fanaticism is liable to cause pessimism. Objectively speaking, such leaders just cannot lead forward a big country like ours with a population of 1 billion. As far as these leaders themselves are concerned, they had better honestly examine their own mistakes before the whole party and the people throughout the country at an early date, admit that they are incapable of correctly handling the problems facing the country, and then live out their lives in retirement or stay in the second line.

A matter of the utmost importance at present is that persons in the prime of life should be put in important party and government positions and lead the party and the people forward along a correct road. Only thus will it be possible for us to fulfill the great task of realizing the four modernizations and to build our country into a prosperous, powerful socialist state. Only thus will the people be able to lead a comparatively well-off, happy life.

CSO: 4003/689

PARTY AND STATE

DENG XIAOPING CRITICIZED FOR USING SOONG DEATH

OW100336 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] The entire army and people throughout the country mourn the death of Comrade Soong Ching Ling with deep grief. Gone forever is Comrade Soong Ching Ling, who worked so hard for the motherland, people and revolution for 70 years. Her brilliant image, however, will live forever in the hearts of all people in the country.

Now that the funeral for honorary chairman Soong Ching Ling has come to an end, it is necessary to sternly criticize the wicked behavior of some persons in the party Central Committee who capitalized on Comrade Soong Ching Ling's grave illness and death to seek their own personal political ends.

As early as the beginning of last year when Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping proposed to confer the title of honorary chairman of the People's Republic of China on Comrade Soong Ching Ling, she said she could not accept it because Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou had both opposed having a chairman of the state. Many Standing Committee members of the Political Bureau also took exception to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposal for reinstating a chairman of the state. We have not had a chairman of the state and, therefore, we should not have any honorary chairman of the state. However, when Comrade Soong Ching Ling became gravely ill, the 18th session of the NPC Standing Committee convened hurriedly and the resolution conferring the title of honorary chairman of the state on Comrade Soong Ching Ling was railroaded through the session against her own wish and in violation of the state constitution.

Of course, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was fully worthy of the title of honorary chairman. However, we should note that when this honorary title was forced on Comrade Soong Ching Ling as she lay critically ill, it made the title of the chairman of the state a fait accompli. If there can be an honorary chairman of the state, the reinstatement of a chairman of the state in the future will be fully justified.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping on many occasions rebuked Lin Biao for being overambitious to become the chairman of the state. Now he himself is creating the conditions for his becoming chairman of the state. This is very wrong.

Besides, it was unjustifiable to take advantage of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's grave illness and death to unleash the united front war. About a week before Comrade Soong Ching Ling's death, comrades Deng Yingchao, Liao Chengzhi and Guo Baoquan and other comrades said since Comrade Soong Ching Ling's prestige was so high, she should not be used as those defected Kuomintang generals had been used, because it would not only debase Comrade Soong Ching Ling but also impair the dignity of our country. The elderly Ye Jianying also telephoned the secretariat of the party Central Committee on this matter. But Comrade Deng Xiaoping could listen to nobody. As a result, the telegrams of invitation to Soong Mei-ling, widow of Chiang Kai-shek and to the Taiwan authorities were also returned.

While millions of people in the capital of Beijing were mourning Comrade Soong Ching Ling's death along with the people of the whole country, overseas and Taiwan papers raised a hue and cry about the CCP's united front warfare and propaganda capitalizing on Comrade Soong Ching Ling's death. This virtually tarnished the occasion of the state funeral and Comrade Soong Ching Ling's brilliant image.

After the death of Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1925, Soong Ching Ling refused with deep grief to return to Nanjing to attend the funeral because she would not be used by Chiang Kai-shek as a political tool. Today, if Comrade Soong Ching Ling were conscious in her grave, she would certainly feel immensely sad and grieve for what we have done to her.

CSO: 4005/689

PARTY AND STATE

GOVERNMENT LEADER CRITICIZED FOR FLAUNTING POWER

OW220633 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 21 Jun 81

[Text] In the history of our party and country, there were many leaders who neither affixed adjectives such as "brilliant and great" to their names nor practiced personal cults while they were alive, yet their brilliant images have always lived in the hearts of hundreds of millions of people. However, today some people have gone all out to seek the limelight. They have presumptuously asserted their decisive role in state and party affairs, have flaunted their leadership in words and deeds and have even posed as the savior of the people.

At present, that person who considers himself to be the leader of the party and the Central Military Commission and the head of state is a typical example in this regard. However, the people have come to realize from observing his deeds that he is really not so great and brilliant after all.

As soon as he came to power, he immediately issued exaggerated talks and speeches promising the fulfillment of such and such tasks in 3 years and such and such tasks in 10 years and the realization of a grand goal by the end of the century that will shock the country and the world. But in the end all his beautiful promises were broken just like soap bubbles, causing nearly 26 million people to lose their jobs as well as causing raging inflation and a decline in living standards of party, government and army cadres, staff and workers. Even after the serious mistakes, that person, instead of courageously assuming full responsibility for the consequences, has blamed others and tried to find a scapegoat to protect his own "great" image.

Of course, since that person in the party Central Committee has weathered many political storms, he is well aware that finding a scapegoat alone cannot hoodwink all the people. Thus, he has resorted to suppression and has unfolded a [word indistinct] political movement, the so-called "eliminating 'leftist' and opposing 'rightist' ideas." Because our army leaders have never blindly trusted anyone, and because, in recent years, army cadres have been outspoken in their criticism of current policies, the army's high- and middle-level cadres have become the principal targets of the movement. The current plan to cut down the (?size of the army), reduce the number of army cadres and force a large number of high- and middle-level cadres to retire or be transferred to civilian jobs is geared to the above movement of purging the army.

Moreover, while resorting to suppression, that person has also vigorously revived the personal cult practice. [Words indistinct] It was decided that in addressing another person in the party, the word "comrade"--instead of one's official title--should be used, and that opinions of leaders in the party Central Committee should not be referred to as "instructions." However, in many reports, documents and talks of today, one often comes across references such as "important instructions" of a certain vice chairman of the party Central Committee. Even at ordinary gatherings on insignificant occasions, that person's views are also flatteringly referred to as "instructions."

Some offices and schools have also hung posters of quotes from that person in the party Central Committee. This of course is done at the instruction of the secretariat and the propaganda department of the party Central Committee to show that servility to him, having appraised the mentality of that person of the party Central Committee who connives and appreciates this sort of [word indistinct].

In short, one's greatness and brilliance can only be proven by one's concrete deeds. Methods of domination, coercion or deceitful propaganda to attain this goal will only bring negative results.

CSO: 4005/689

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' ON DENG XIAOPING'S 'PATRIARCHAL' BEHAVIOR

GW021011 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 30 Jun 81

[Text] The course of the Communist Party of China in the past 60 years since its founding has been difficult and tortuous. Over these long years, our party, our people and our heroic PLA fighters have scored one success after another, liberated the whole country, with the sole exception of Taiwan Province, and founded the People's Republic of China.

Over past decades, however, our party has committed many serious mistakes. What is more important, our party has failed to learn from our experiences of successes or to draw lessons from our failures. As a result, our party has committed mistakes that could have been avoided and, moreover, we have committed serious mistakes. Our party, our army and the people of the whole country have paid a bitter price for these mistakes.

In looking back on the past six decades, we are bound to notice that much serious harm has been done to our country and our people and that many problems still exist in our domestic and foreign policies, because we have taken a wrong line and adopted erroneous policies. What is more important, this situation has been brought about by subjective factors related to the principal party and state leaders.

Over the past few decades, there has always been a small number of intriguers and careerists who split the party, split the army, disrupted the relations between the party and the army and undermined the fine tradition of the PLA in an attempt to usurp party and state power. They attempted to change the PLA into a tool for usurping power by changing its glorious duty of protecting the country and safeguarding the socialist construction and by aiming guns at those within the party.

They organized their own faction within the party and within the army, followed an organizational line based on factionalism, had their own ways of leading the party and the state, acted recklessly in pursuing (?splitism) and often dealt blows at their enemies and even told lies, talked big and empty in an attempt to push themselves forward.

Such practice has been allowed to continue to this day mainly because our party, since the founding of the country, only paid attention to preventing the corrosive

influence of bourgeois ideas but failed to eliminate the (?poisonous influence) of a feudal despotism that existed within our party for the past few decades.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," our party called for "setting to right things that had been thrown into disorder." However, these mistakes continued to bring about harm because the party's principal leaders failed to root out their own ideas of feudal despotism. The practice of feudal patriarchal domination did the most serious harm.

Immediately after Comrade Deng Xiaoping resumed his post, he offered many slogans concerning freedom, democracy and the emancipation of minds and also advocated collective leadership. However, once he held power in his hands, he started suppressing demands for democracy and pursued the practice of "what I say counts" in dealing with all major issues of both domestic and foreign affairs.

In the past 2 years, most candidates for chairman and vice chairmen for the party's Central Committee as well as secretary general, secretaries, premier and vice premiers were actually nominated and approved by Deng Xiaoping himself. Even leaders of major provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as military regions were appointed by him. All this indicates that the practice of feudal despotism that had undermined our party and country in the past still has corrosive influence on the function of our party.

In greeting the 60th anniversary of the founding of our party, we must comprehensively appraise our past mistakes and failures, earnestly sum up our experiences in successes and draw lessons from our failures so as to avoid any harm to the cause of our party and to its building owing to subjective factors related to our own leaders and guarantee a healthy growth of our country along the socialist road in stability and unity over a long period of time.

CSO: 4005/689

PARTY AND STATE

DENG XIAOPING CRITICIZED FOR CLINGING TO POWER

OW192130 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 18 Jun 81

[Text] In light of the NPC Standing Committee's decision to confer the title of honorary chairman of the People's Republic of China on Comrade Soong Ching Ling, there has been renewed discussion among army cadres concerning the question of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's assuming the post of state chairman. Some comrades have pointed out that in appointing state chairman in the past, we always proceeded from the interests of the state and people by selecting a person in the prime of life to fill this important post.

We have time and again pointed out that the catastrophe suffered by our party and country in the past more than 20 years, which meant irreparable, serious losses to the country and immeasurable hardships to the people, were, to a certain extent, caused by the senility of principal party and state leaders. When our party and state leaders were in the prime of life, there were no serious mistakes that brought disaster upon the whole party and people of the entire country. Comrade Cai Chang, who resigned as vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee after the third session of the Fifth NPC, said: "When a person gets old, he should voluntarily resign his post. This should become a system, especially among veteran cadres who occupy important party and state posts."

The five vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee and the five vice premiers who resigned their state and government posts because of old age weighed the interests of the people and the destiny of the state heavier than their personal loss or gain. Their noble character and exemplary deeds are truly admirable!

However, not all the alleged communists and central leading personnel, who should set good examples for others, have the same fine style. Despite his senility, a certain person is still holding on to power and is obsessed by personal fame, gain and position. He has orally pledged to promote cadres in the prime of life, but he is still clinging to all his party, state and army power even though he is nearly 80. He has resigned from the posts of chief of general staff and vice premier but still holds on to the power of the party Central Committee's military commission.

Now, he even wants to grasp the post of state chairman. Of course, this practice was not allowed in feudal society, not to mention in our new socialist society. In the past, only an emperor could occupy that position as long as he wished. Unless the dynasty was toppled, very few people abdicated the crown. But, there was a maximum age for prime ministers and other government officials to serve in the government. They were required to tender their resignations upon reaching this age. Bai Juyi, a poet of the Tang Dynasty, once wrote a poem to satirize a prime minister who did not retire when he reached 70. He said: It is precious for old persons to have the wisdom to know themselves. Their spirit is commendable if they retire at a proper age. Those who stubbornly cling to important posts, particularly the posts concerning the destiny of the country, can only do harm to the country and themselves.

CSO: 4005/689

PARTY AND STATE

DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT 'ESSENTIAL TO CLASSLESS SOCIETY'

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 May 81 p 3

[Article by Hong Yunshan (3163 7301 3790): "The People's Democratic Dictatorship Is the Only Path to the Classless Society"]

[Text] The principle of allegiance to the people's democratic dictatorship or the dictatorship of the proletariat is one of the four basic principles set forth by the Party Central Committee. In order to uphold this basic principle, we must first understand the original meaning of the people's democratic dictatorship and its status and role in relation to the proletarian revolutionary cause. Only in this way can we solidify our ideological foundation against any "leftist" or rightist attempts to distort this basic principle, and consciously and firmly defend and uphold this principle in terms of theory and practice.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a slogan proposed by Marx when he undertook to sum up the experiences of France in carrying out class struggles from 1848 to 1850. Using the French experiences in proletarian revolutionary struggles as a basis, Marx pointed out: The proletariat's "desire to slightly improve its position within the framework of any bourgeois republic is only a pipe dream, and therefore, must be replaced by a bold, revolutionary, militant slogan calling for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 417) Commenting on differences between scientific socialism and utopian socialism, Marx pointed out: The objective of socialism is "to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat whose aim is to eliminate class discriminations, relations of production based on such class discriminations, and all social relations which complement the relations of production, and to change all transient ideas resulting from the development of the social relations." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, pp 479, 480) In his letter of 5 March 1852 to Weydemeyer, Marx pointed out: The dictatorship of the proletariat is only a stage of transition to the classless society. Similar themes on the transition period and the political forms of the transition could be found in his work "Critique of the Gotha Program." But direct applications of this technical term "dictatorship of the proletariat" are not frequently seen in works by Marx and Engels. According to a foreign scholar, it was used all times by them. But a comrade in our country confirmed that it was used 20 times. Using this point as a proof, some people suspect that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. They even contend that since this slogan smacks of violence and reflects a desire to suppress democracy, it should be abolished.

This viewpoint reveals a lack of the correct understanding of the original meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat among some people.

From works by Marx and Engels, we can see the dictatorship of the proletariat as a comprehensive theory or idea. For example, they said: The proletariat must control the political power, exercise the rule over other classes, suppress class enemies who try to mount counterattacks, and use the political power as a tool to rearrange the entire range of the relations of production in the old society, to eliminate all class discriminations and fulfill the process of transition to the classless society, thus putting an end to its own rule. Clearly, this theory not only touches on the class nature of the state power mechanism and the forms of government but also sets forth tasks to be accomplished by the proletarian political rule. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, the path to the classless society cannot be laid and socialism and communism cannot be crowned with victory. Abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat means abolishing socialism and communism. This is why the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only path to the classless society and indispensable to the building of socialism and communism. How can anyone say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the quintessence of Marxism? True, the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not very frequently used by Marx and Engels. But the people must first of all understand that Marx and Engels used, instead, the concept of the class rule of the proletariat or political rule and regarded it as synonymous with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The idea that the proletariat must place the political power under its control and exercise political rule took shape in their early work "The German Ideology," and was fully emphasized in their works "Communist Principles" and "Communist Manifesto." The idea that the political power must be used as a lever to eliminate all class discriminations and the concept of the state was more frequently enumerated in their works on political struggle and theory of the state. Evidently, the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a well-organized scientific theory rather than a rarely touched-upon "small term" as described by Kautsky.

However, the simple idea of treating the dictatorship of the proletariat as an equivalent to brutal force and an element hostile and antagonistic to the proletarian democracy is also wrong. It goes without saying that the dictatorship of the proletariat must use brutal force to suppress the class enemies who mounted counterattacks. But a more important objective is to organize the socialist economic, political and cultural construction programs through the exercise of political power, roundly and thoroughly to transform our society as a whole, and finally to eliminate all class discrimination and class rule and realize communism. Therefore, any interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an equivalent to the dictatorship of a brutal force is one-sided, narrow-minded and incorrect because it greatly minimizes the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a theoretical sense. It also goes without saying that the dictatorship of the proletariat must consider it a primary duty to use brutal force to suppress the resistance of the overthrown enemies, to defend and consolidate the fruits of the revolution shortly after capturing the political power or at a time when the class struggle was at its height and the exploiting classes were to be eliminated. However, even under such circumstances, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be treated as an equivalent to the exercise of the dictatorship

of brutal force over enemies. The role of violence under the dictatorship of the proletariat was particularly emphasized by Lenin when class enemies at home and abroad wildly mounted armed attacks against the Soviet Union shortly after the birth of the Soviet political power. For example, he said: "The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is a form of political power captured by the proletariat from the bourgeoisie by force. It will also be defended by force. In a sense, the dictatorship is a 'state' in which one class has to use revolutionary brutal force in a way disliked by renegades to overcome another class." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3, pp 623, 624) However, Lenin never put the dictatorship of the proletariat on a par with brutal force. Shortly after coming to power, Lenin emphasized that the main task of the dictatorship of the proletariat was to organize the economic construction program and to shift the emphasis of work to economic construction as soon as the civil war was over. At the same time, Lenin said: The dictatorship of the proletariat refers to the "proletarian democratic system." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 4, p 568) Marx and Engels pointed out long ago: "The promotion of the proletariat to the ruling class" means a "victory of democracy." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 272) It seems very clear that any interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an equivalent to brutal force with intent to suppress democracy is wrong.

In our country, the political power that came after the victory of the revolution is the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its basis. The establishment of such a political power was a response to the actual desires of the peasants who account for 80 percent of the nation's population and the national bourgeoisie which joined the proletariat in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism since the democratic revolution. It is not only an answer to the actual needs of our country but is in line with the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the "Communist Principles," Engels said long ago: "The objective of the proletarian revolution is to establish the democratic system which will be followed by the establishment of the proletarian political rule through the implementation of direct or indirect political measures. In England, direct measures can be taken to establish such a rule because the proletarians account for the majority of the population there. In France and Germany, indirect measures can be taken to establish such a rule because these two countries are dominated by the proletarians and peasants engaged in small production and petty-bourgeois elements in urban areas." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 219) What the people's democratic dictatorship in our country is striving to accomplish is nothing less than the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is why we have openly called the people's democratic dictatorship the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, when exploiters as a class have been eliminated, the base of the people's political power led by the proletariat has been further broadened. Against this background, the proposal to restore the people's democratic dictatorship is a formulation that can better meet the current demands of our nation for expanding the democratic base of the people's power. But essentially, it still stays as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today, the Party Central Committee's proposal to uphold the people's democratic dictatorship or the dictatorship of the proletariat naturally takes into account not only the fact that remnant forms of class struggle still exist in certain parts of our country and preparations must be made against invasions by enemies from

abroad but also the fact that the people's democratic dictatorship will exist for a long time until all class discriminations and class rule are eliminated. During this period, the important objective of the proletarian political power is to create highly developed productive forces and hence the material conditions for finally wiping out all class discriminations, to do everything possible in its power to educate the masses in this field with the support of the social organizations, to raise the scientific, cultural and technical levels and political consciousness among the people, to train a new generation in communist morality, to create high-level socialist spiritual civilization, to develop socialist democracy and to introduce high-level democratic style into our nation's political life. Of course, it also has the responsibility to defend the motherland and resist any aggression launched by the enemies from abroad while exercising dictatorship over class enemies at home. For this reason, the principle of allegiance to the people's democratic dictatorship is a proposal for the period of transition to the classless society. This is actually a protracted and difficult historical mission whose fulfillment calls for constant efforts by generations to come. This fact shows that allegiance to the people's democratic dictatorship is absolutely not an expedient plan. We must vigilantly defend the people's democratic dictatorship. There are still erroneous "leftist" ideas which confuse the two different types of contradictions, and view the contradictions among the people as those between our enemies and ourselves with the aim of escalating the class struggle. There are also other mistaken ideas which have the effect of weakening, shaking to the foundation and discrediting the people's democratic dictatorship, discouraging people who struggle resolutely against the antisocialist elements and counter-revolutionaries and encouraging people who glorify bourgeois democracy and look for bourgeois freedom. We must oppose all these erroneous ideas through the struggle to fulfill the great historical mission of the proletariat.

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PARTY AND STATE

WANG GUANGYING, LIU SHAOQUI'S BROTHER-IN-LAW, PRAISED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 81 p 2

[Article by staff reporter Chen Yongjin [7115 0516 6651]: "Gold Everywhere--A Visit with Wang Guangying [3679 0342 5391], deputy mayor of Tianjin Municipality"]

[Excerpts] The Socialist Causes Prods Him On

Many people of Tianjin Municipality are acquainted with Deputy Mayor Wang Guangying's famous expression "gold everywhere." Upon hearing this at first, one might feel that this expression is an over exaggeration. Only after I paid a serious visit in Tianjin did I feel that it had its vivid actual content, which made me rather excited.

When he was young, Wang Guangying advocated national salvation by way of industry. Upon his graduation from college, he opened up a modern factory in Tianjin. At that time, the quality of this factory's products was good, and the management of its enterprise was also good; in 1 year, its capital was turned over 10 times. Because he fervently loved his motherland and constantly publicized his patriotic policies, he was imprisoned by the Japanese for 2 months. After Japan surrendered in 1945, and the Kuomintang took over Tianjin, the KMT alleged that he harbored "a grievance against the party and the state" and framed him and hence imprisoned him 3 more months. During the 10-year catastrophe, Wang Guangying was imprisoned for 8 years because of implication in Comrade Liu Shaoqi's case. During those 8 years, he suffered plenty of hardship, but there was one thing which was meaningful and which pleased him: while in prison, he read a large amount of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. From these works, Wang Guangying profoundly understood that the bourgeoisie uses its own interest as the criterion to measure right and wrong; he understood that only communism stands as the hope of humanity because its entire cause is the liberation of all mankind. He thinks that the transformation of industry and commerce as advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong is a development of Marxism-Leninism. From the Marxist-Leninist theory he discovered the momentum to transform his own world view. Says Wang Guangying, it is a fact that some capitalist countries are developing very fast today; if our socialist construction can be spared the zigzags, its speed of construction will also be very fast. The speed prior to 1947 was clear proof. While in prison 8 years, the glorious images of many communists inspired him. He also mentioned that in his contacts with Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai, their noble

qualities profoundly moved him. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, his case was rectified; the masses of the people came to trust him even more and respect him even more. The old industrial and commercial entrepreneurs and members of the Association for Democratic National Construction elected him to serve as chairman of the Association's committee in Tianjin Municipality and as vice chairman of the committee of the Industrial and Commercial Association in Tianjin Municipality; the government appointed him to serve as general manager of the International Trust Company in Tianjin Municipality, and the like. Later, the people of Tianjin municipality also elected him as their deputy mayor. Today, his work is very heavy; but he always works diligently, vigorously and resolutely as if he is looking for gold for his motherland every day.

Starting From the Place With a Single Inch of Gold

In order to recover the historical characteristics of the commerce of Tianjin Municipality, the Tianjin Municipality placed the task of readjusting key points in its commercial network upon Wang Guangying. Wang Guangying thus made his start from Tianjin's most prosperous Peace Avenue-Eastern Highway by doing a good job in adjusting a single street. This street is 6 1/2 li long; there are 654 house numbers on the two sides of the street. Its business volume makes up half of the volume of the same trade in Tianjin Municipality. In the case of some retail departments, 1 square foot of space is able to accumulate 5,000 yuan for the state in a single year. The reason why readjustment was called for was because after the whole trade was changed into a joint public-private operation in 1957 many stores were turned into houses for public use or wholesale departments, whereas many others became dilapidated because of a lack of repair for many years. Now there is need to change according to plan the 60-odd houses for non-business use on this street occupied by entrepreneurial units and over 300 residential areas (totaling more than 40,000 square meters) into retail stores; these can add more than 200 million yuan in business volume and realize a profit of 20 million yuan. This is going to be of great benefit to making the economy prosperous, activating the market, recovering currency from circulation, and making things convenient to the masses. By the beginning of May, 20-odd places had been opened up for business in succession, with an increase of more than 6 million yuan in business volume. After full investigation and study, Wang Guangying and Hao Shengde [6787 3932 1795], Wang Zuoyuan [3769 0155 3293] of the municipal financial committee, together with comrades of concerned districts and bureaus, already have a well thought-out plan as to what business should be arranged at which house number of this street and how to carry out the readjustment. Wang Guangying made the interesting remarks to me: commerce is one thing which, with some slight turn-around, can earn a great deal of money for the state. Gold is not going to run into your hands, but it depends on whether you can think of some way to look for it.

In the past, the storefront of the Hengdeli Clock and Watch Shop was rather narrow; with more than 50 kinds of hanging watches only 20 could be displayed, and also only slightly more than 800 wrist watches could be displayed for the customers to choose from. The counter on which watches were sold was constantly surrounded by several rings of people, and people often resorted to quarrels when

they could not get the kind of wrist watches they wanted. Many people from other places also liked to come to Tianjin to buy their watches. The shop was merely for people to look at for fun, but its business volume was hardly great. The Binhai stocking store next door, because it handled only stockings, had few customers and its business volume was very low; its business volume for 1 year was equivalent to only that of a half month at Hengdeli. After a clear investigation of this situation, Wang Guangying decided to have the business of Binhai stocking store turned over to the stocking counter in the arcade across the street, and at the same time expand the storefront of Hengdeli Clock and Watch Shop. He time and again worked in behalf of the two stores; after patient persuasion and assistance, the 11 staff and workers of Binhai stocking store were merged with those of the Hengdeli Clock and Watch Shop. Since the retail department of the Hengdeli Clock and Watch Shop was expanded, all clocks and watches can now be put on display for the customers to choose for purchase. This turn-around made it possible for the shop's business volume in March to increase 490,000 yuan over that of the corresponding period last year, and the income from the business of watch repair alone was enough to cover the wage expenditure for most of its staff and workers.

The readjustment of this commercial street was completed within the time limit on the basis of storefronts of a given trade being used by that very trade, together with a responsibility system being formulated for this purpose. This practice had an impact on various districts. Apart from helping the municipality to handle one street well, Peace District also proceeded to restore the Xiaobailou commercial district. Hongqiao District has already decided to consolidate Hebei Thoroughfare with an emphasis on restoring the management of bamboo, wood and ceramic products. Hebei District, Nankai District, and Hedong District have likewise started in earnest to plan the readjustment of a street in their own district.

Striving To Provide Conveniences to the Masses and Accumulate Wealth for the State

Before 1957, there were 57,000 key points in a network of various services in Tianjin Municipality. By 1979, the population increased by 1.38 million over that of 1957, but key points in the commercial network were reduced by 7,000. One can imagine the difficulties thus created for the people. For a long period, Tianjin Municipality stressed industry and took commerce lightly in its construction program; this caused resentment on the part of people. It was the municipal people's government which let Wang Guangying grasp the restoration and readjustment of these key points in the commercial network.

By May this year, newly added key points in the network in Tianjin Municipality already numbered more than 16,000; the increase still continues rapidly today. In order to give scope to the strong points of the old industrial and commercial entrepreneurs, Wang Guangying mobilized the municipal committees to the Association for Democratic National Construction and the Industrial and Commercial Association to respond to the call of the government by arranging employment for youths awaiting employment; during the past year, they organized 113 various key points in the network, arranged work for more than 5,800 youths awaiting

employment, and increased more than 1.8 million yuan of pure profits for the state. Wang Guangying held that this was but a start. If Tianjin's industry and commerce and key points in their network could be restored to the state before 1957, that would bring to the people very great conveniences and create even greater wealth for the state.

Wang Guangying invited me to go to the Qingnian dumpling shop in Hexi District for a visit. This dumpling shop is situated not very far from the bus terminal. In the past there was no key point in the service network here; it caused difficulties to the masses in finding a place to have their meals. Wang Guangying said to the old industrial and commercial entrepreneur Zhang Naiwu [1728 0035 2976]: this is a precious piece of land; we should set up a key point in the network here to sell especially flatbread, dumplings, and steamed stuffed buns as meals for those boarding and disembarking from the buses. Zhang Naiwu had sold flatbread in the past; although he is now 67 years old, his zeal was very great upon hearing the call for him to do some business again. He quickly mobilized more than 40 persons. Because many came from among the ranks of youths awaiting employment, it was therefore called Qingnian dumpling shop. Zhang Naiwu adopted the approach of large volume of sale at limited profit, like Wang Guangying did when he opened that factory, in order to assure that his products would always maintain their good quality. In making their dumplings, these youths carefully studied the experience of the "Dog-Can't-Ignore" Dumpling Shop; thus their quality was fine and their taste was good. People started to praise theirs as the second "Dog-Can't-Ignore," and many people now love to come to this place to have their meals. When it opened for business in November 1979, its daily income was only 80 yuan; today, its income amounts to more than 700 yuan every day. Last year, it spent 1,800 yuan to install a new storefront. The average wage of staff and workers reached more than 60 yuan.

True, there is gold everywhere! In Chafangzi Brigade in the northern outskirts of Tianjin, I saw the Jinbei riveting factory established in the earlier half of 1979. This was built by Association for Democratic National Construction committee member Zhang Wenbin [1728 2429 1755] to support agriculture. Zhang Wenbin was very good at management and he also had the riveting know-how. In the latter half of 1979 alone the factory's income amounted to 210,000 yuan; its 1980 income was 520,000 yuan. This made every commune member in Chafangzi Brigade collect an extra income of 220 yuan on average. What an inspiring fact this ought to be! In the case of the old industrial and commercial entrepreneurs who have gone through many years of socialist transformation and who have acquired experience in commercial management as well as the enthusiasm to build socialism, this should be the time they demonstrate their activism.

Stepping Into the Golden Era

The undertakings of the Tianjin International Trust Company are mainly led by comrades like Wang Guangying, Pan Yongzhong [5400 3057 0022], etc. This new-type enterprise intends to absorb foreign investment, import advanced technology from abroad, import advanced equipment, in order to make constructive investment to the undertakings of Tianjin Municipality. This unit conducts its independent accounting and is responsible for its own gains and losses. I stayed at this

omit for several days; the impression it gave people was: although the cadres were all older persons, they handled matters with dispatch and efficiency and they stressed principles. There was a thriving atmosphere everywhere. They are now in the process of raising their own capital to build in Tianjin a Foreign Trade Center Building of 20-odd stories; this will be the tallest structure in Tianjin. Today, the rooms of this building have mostly been subscribed, and those who plan to move elsewhere on account of this building have also found their solutions. But those who actually handle this building operation are limited to two or three persons only.

In its organization, this trust company employs people only on the basis of talent and forges crooked entries and devious paths. Those cadres absorbed into the company mostly possess greater professional capabilities and a foreign language background. Although they are short-handed at present, in slightly over a year, they have talked business with over 100 groups of customers from more than 10 countries such as Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and West Germany; foreign customers have crowded in front of their door, and the scene there is one of growing prosperity. In respect to our own municipality, they have proceeded actively to contact various industrial bureaus, industrial companies, and factories. In cases where assistance from the investment company is needed in the processes of resources exploitation, renovation, and transformation, they usually extend such assistance with enthusiasm. Wang Guangying said to me: in respect to investment in domestic enterprises, we must adopt a positive, prudent, solid and reliable principle, we must ensure the results of investment, and protect our credibility and reputation internally as well as externally. The eight projects in which investment has already been made have all been subject to careful investigation and study, including other conditions of these invested projects such as water, electricity, raw materials, sales outlets for the products, etc.; these were all secured one by one. In the case of an expansion project by the Daku chemical engineering plant, an investment of more than 17 million yuan was already made, but it was delayed because of the readjustment being carried out by the state; after careful investigation and approval by relevant departments, the trust company imported foreign capital to continue the expansion. Upon completion, the plant was able to increase 20,000 tons of caustic soda, 10,000 of polyethylene, and other chemical industrial products a year; according to the budgeted plan, a part of the products thus increased alone would be able to repay both the principal and interest cost. During the past year, after the completion of their contracted project, a yearly output value increase of more than 140 million yuan was found possible, with a profit of 55 million yuan submitted to the state treasury, and a foreign exchange of U.S. \$44 million created.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Wang Guangying consolidated his thinking and felt that the path of building socialism had broadened, and the number of avenues also increased. Thus, in his work, he would grasp whatever he has investigated and studied and considered practicable without giving it up, and he would pursue it to the very end once it is grasped so that success is assured. Today, the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee and the municipal people's government both have confidence in him; colleagues working with him also support him with the feeling that he has a broad vision, takes his tasks seriously, and is capable of practicing whatever he says. Although Wang

Guangying is already 62 years old, his strong ambition knows no end; it really looks as though he has just stepped into a golden era. If his expression of "gold everywhere" is used to forecast his future, he surely will find more gold for the people of Tianjin Municipality and for the construction of the motherland. Indeed, there is gold everywhere in the motherland.

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PARTY AND STATE

WAYS TO REALIZE PARTY LEADERSHIP DISCUSSED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 81 p 4

[Article by Jiang He (3068 3109): "On What Does Realization of the Party's Leadership Depend?"]

[Text] The Central Work Conference reiterated that we must adhere to the four basic principles, and adhering to leadership by the party is the core and fundamental guarantee of adhering to the four basic principles; it thus has especially important meaning for us. We must unwaveringly struggle against those tendencies designed to weaken, eliminate or oppose the party's leadership, and at the same time we must also make clear on what realization of the party's leadership depends. This is an important question concerning the strengthening and improvement of party leadership.

Party leadership is mainly political leadership; namely, leadership over the line, principles and policies. In realizing such leadership the party first of all relies on the correctness of the line, principles and policies it has itself formulated; at the same time, it must also rely on the whole party carrying out ideological work and on party members playing the role of vanguards and models. Only in this way will the vast ranks of the masses of the people accept and master the party's line, principles and policies and march forward along the path directed by the party. Consequently, ideological leadership is in turn the central link of political leadership.

But some comrades do not perceive party leadership in this manner; they have different views. If we were to fail to clarify this matter, it would not be beneficial to adhering to leadership by the party.

Some comrades think that party leadership depends on power; only with power can the party exert its leadership, and without power it would have nothing to exert. Is this really the case? No. As everyone knows, the new democratic revolution was led by our party; but within those 28 long years our party was situated in a powerless position while, on the other hand, feudal warlords and Chiang Kai-shek held power but could not qualify for leadership. The reason why our party was the core of leadership of this revolution was because its line, principles and policies were upheld by the vast ranks of the masses of the people, and the latter were consciously willing to struggle for them. This shows that an equal-sign

may not necessarily be drawn between power and leadership. Socialist revolution and construction must also be led by the Communist Party, this is beyond question; but we cannot hold that since our party is already in power the realization of leadership over the masses depends on power. For several decades, because our party has achieved great victories the people have shown great trust in our party. The party enjoys very high prestige. Some comrades therefore take such trust and prestige as political power by which they can issue orders and commands to the masses, and they thereby deviate from the party's policies and order the masses to do this and do that. In reality, since the party wishes to unite the vast ranks of the masses of the people closely around itself and at the same time cannot reduce its level as the vanguard, the only feasible way is to rely on the party's line, principles and policies to mobilize the enthusiasm of the masses, raise their consciousness through ideological and political work, and lead them forward by model behavior. Power can only force others to obey, but it cannot win popularity. It may seem to be effective for a while but it will bring about undesirable consequences, weaken or even alienate the trust and prestige conferred by the masses, and damage the party's leadership. The kind of approach designed to spare one's effort and forego ideological and political work and to implement party leadership merely by relying on power is obviously incorrect.

Some comrades think that party leadership is embodied in the individual leadership of certain party members. This is another muddled view with respect to party leadership. Not a few of our party members are situated in leadership posts at various levels, but no matter what leadership duties a party member may be undertaking, he cannot equate himself with the organization, take his own opinion as the organization's opinion, or lead the masses apart from the party's line, principles and policies. We all know that the party's line and major principles and policies are formulated by the party central committee. In respect to the party's line and policies, the question for the low-level, basic party organizations is how to assure their adherence and implementation; if someone has a different view, he can put it forward according to organizational procedures but he cannot change them at his own discretion. As for the individual party member, even one situated in a leading post, he cannot look upon himself as someone special and treat the party's line, principles and policies as he pleases or replace them with his personal likes and dislikes. This is not permitted by the discipline of the organization. Also, in adhering to and carrying out the party's line, principles and policies, he must go through collective discussion and decision and he cannot just make what he personally says count. If one were to take leadership of the party as leadership of an individual, that would be a violation of the party's organizational principles, and deviation from the party's line and policies would be equivalent to eliminating the party's political leadership; that would obviously be erroneous.

Some comrades think that division of work between the party and the government would weaken the party's leadership, with the party tantamount to "being pushed aside." This is also another view which muddles up how the party should exercise its leadership. When the party is not separated from the government and the party is in the position of taking the place of the government, it looks on the surface as if the party committee is controlling many things and the party's leadership role is therefore strengthened. In reality, if the party committee should monopolize everything, whether or not it is suitable or capable in respect to the solving of certain problems, the result would only be that those things which

it should not grasp would keep it entangled and shackled and reduced from a vanguard team to a business group. Looked at from the point of view of Marxist epistemology, our party members, including members of party committees, are not all omniscient and omnipotent; there cannot but be some limit to their knowledge and capability. Therefore party members must specify clearly their own responsibilities and specify clearly what they should and should not do before they can give scope to the function of their leadership. The party committee's duty and responsibility is to carry out political and ideological leadership; since this is the party committee's duty and responsibility, its function in this respect must be given full play. Because of this, it is necessary to release administrative and business work and have that done by other cadres so that it can keep under close control the leadership over line, principles and policies. Only by foregoing what should not be done can one do well what should be done; this is a principle everybody knows. If one chooses to monopolize all matters whether big or small, thinking that he is omniscient and omnipotent, this is a fundamental violation of the law of perception and can hardly avoid leading to blind command. Therefore, only by carrying out the system of dividing the work between the party and the government can the party committee concentrate its energy on doing a good job on big matters; otherwise, it can only become more and more bogged down in miscellaneous affairs. Such a situation would really weaken the party's leadership and weaken our ideological and political work, and would really result in the party committee itself "being pushed aside" on line, principles and policies.

To sum up, we must correctly understand how the party should carry out its leadership; this is very necessary for adhering to party leadership and struggling against those tendencies designed to weaken and oppose it.

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PARTY AND STATE

WAYS OF PROMOTING YOUNG CADRES TO LEADING POSTS DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Firmly Grasp the Task To Appoint Outstanding Middle-Aged and Young Cadres to the Leading Posts"]

[Text] The 5th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee proposed that leading bodies at all levels must gradually revitalize themselves by welcoming into their circles young cadres and by improving their professional knowledge and skills on the premise of allegiance to the socialist road. Since that plenary session of the Central Committee, great successes have been scored by our province in selecting and training middle-aged and young cadres. But what has been achieved in this field still falls far behind the Central Committee's demands because of the failure firmly to grasp this task and because of slow motion or even inaction. What causes this? Just as the Central Work Conference had pointed out, a lack of understanding of the significance of this strategic task among some comrades is a problem that needs to be solved urgently and effectively.

The task to select and promote outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to leading posts is a great strategic policy decision which takes into account not only our current need to realize our economic readjustment but also our long-range interests as well. It is where our hope lies. We must exhibit a sense of urgency in promoting the middle-aged and young cadres of competence and integrity (including cadres of worker and peasant origin and intellectuals) to leading posts. In response to this decision, some people said: "We can still hold on for a while. There is no reason for rush. No hasty action should be taken. When we come to a bridge, we can certainly cross it. Naturally, someday everybody will come to take over our shifts." We must deal conscientiously with such ideas that smack of resistance. We often regard our old cadres as valuable assets of the party and state and the mainstay of our revolutionary cause. Politically, they deserve our highest respect. We must take care of their well-being so that they can live longer, spend more time attending to the affairs of the party and state, and be in a better position to pass on their experiences to the younger generation of cadres and help and guide them through their trial period. Outstanding middle-aged and young cadres can be promoted to enter leading bodies in such a manner that "old cadres will remain in their positions." This turnaround does not mean retiring all old cadres at once. Those political competent, professionally proficient, and physically fit old comrades will retire to the second or third line of duty only after having completed the process of conveying their experiences to the young cadres and helping and guiding them through a trial period. Although it is unfair to judge their physical fitness by age alone, senility, however, is a process that cannot be prevented. Real

accomplishments result from performances by young, robust and energetic youth. Our old cadres living today are almost in the same age group. Comrades of leading bodies at all levels seem too old, while many of them are now in their sixties. Some comrades are so old that they feel easily tired, and unable to achieve what they desire to achieve. Poor health has forced other comrades from attending to their regular duties. As time goes on, this fact will become more evident than ever along with the fact that the training of middle-aged and young cadres is a time-consuming process. For this reason, immediate action must be taken to solve this problem.

A lack of foresightedness will spell immediate troubles. With the socialist modernization program developing, our work has become more burdensome than ever. If no solution can be found for this problem in the next 3 years or so, the problem facing the cadre contingent will resemble a situation in which existing grain reserves have been consumed long before new crops can be harvested, and we will be faced with a great difficulty. In dealing with this problem of great concern that may spell the success or failure of the four modernizations program, the rise or decline of our nation, and the continuation or end of our party's undertakings, comrades of the entire party must keep it in mind, and always be concerned with it. We must firmly implement the party's organizational line for this new period with foresight and enlist highly politically conscious proletarian statesmen, who can serve to bring about the endless flow of successors for the party's cause. When the old comrades are still alive, the best qualified middle-aged and young cadres must be properly selected so that they can bear the burdens of the state, undergo training and grow into maturity as early as possible. Meanwhile, the old comrades can be in a better position to achieve their intended objective of transmitting their experiences to the younger generation of cadres through an assistance and guidance program. This is a solemn duty they must perform, a good program that will benefit the party and state, and will please everyone!

Chairman Mao said: Youth represent our future; our hope is placed on them. In the course of training and promoting middle-aged and young cadres, resolute efforts must be made to eliminate the long prevailing influence of the "leftist" ideology on cadres, take bold steps in wiping out the feudal concept of seniority and smash the shackles of metaphysical viewpoint that everyone should strive to be a perfect person. Some comrades have shown no regard for youth. They often nitpick about everything youth have done and always feel that their performances are below level. Actually, today's cadres in their thirties or forties can take pride in their specific cultural levels and practical working experiences, in their energetic spirits, active ways of thinking and ability to absorb new knowledge quickly. They are physically strong and in the prime of a life which promises successful careers and great deeds to come. In retrospect, is it true that many of our old cadres assumed important leading positions in their twenties and thirties? At any rate, today's 30- or 40-year-old cadres are in better shape than their 20-year-old peers of the older generation because the former are 10 or 20 years ahead of the latter in terms of work experiences. It should be said that the middle-aged and young cadres who are selected today can take pride in their better qualifications, political perspective, work ability, clear ways of thinking and moral quality. They are also superior to some young cadres of the older generation in terms of cultural, theoretical and professional knowledge. The crux of the problem is whether the party's

requirements for selecting cadres can be objectively, realistically and correctly fulfilled and whether we can broaden our visits in selecting the outstanding middle-aged and young cadres. Of course, first consideration must be given to those who resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies and adhere to the socialist road in the process of selection. Secondly, cadres to be selected should have specific professional knowledge and organizational ability to lead, and should be young and physically fit and capable of withstanding the stress associated with discharging heavy and difficult responsibilities. They will not be able to gradually build up their work experiences unless they are appointed to the leading posts and are required to carry out political work. Only by appointing them to the leading posts, can we test them. As soon as they are selected to take charge of heavy duties, they will feel that they lack experience, and don't know what to do. But this doesn't matter because they can become proficient in work and sharpen their professional skills in a matter of 1 or 2 years. Last year, a number of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres were selected and promoted to new positions in our province. Some have assumed principal municipal and county leading posts; some comrades in their thirties have become heads of county governments. With the help and support of old cadres, they have distinguished themselves by serving their respective leading posts well. This indicates that our human resource is abundant and able people can be found everywhere. As long as we take an accurate view of middle-aged and young cadres, emancipate our minds, and break with the system of seniority, outstanding middle-aged and young cadres will make their presence felt among us.

We cannot "unanimously endorse" the selection and training of middle-aged and young cadres at meetings and shelve it after their adjournment. We cannot just let it stay at the talking stage. We must act quickly on this program. We must do away with the metaphysical viewpoint of dealing with persons and events as unchanging and isolated cases. We must speed up the process of selecting and promoting middle-aged and young cadres instead of just lingering in the same old place. Party committees must list this strategic move as an item on their agenda, work out related plans, examine, promote and concentrate on its implementation. Only in this way can we achieve remarkable success in the near future. Old cadres, especially old leading cadres at all levels, on whose shoulders rest the heavy responsibility for discovering, selecting and training outstanding middle-aged and young cadres, must personally process the selection of able cadres of political integrity and conscientiously transmit their experiences to the cadres of the younger generation through the execution of an assistance and guidance program. We must fully understand and conscientiously implement the party's policy toward cadres, bear the overall situation in mind, keep abreast of the current situation, uphold the "three-in-one" principles of selecting cadres on the basis of recommendations from the masses, public opinion polls and evaluations conducted by organizational departments. Only in this way can the leading bodies at all levels take a giant step forward in revitalizing themselves by welcoming young cadres into their circles and by improving their professional knowledge and skills.

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PARTY AND STATE

INHERENT CONSTRAINTS OF TRUE FREEDOM EXPLAINED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 81 p 3

[Article by Han Yi [7281 3015]: "Freedom Itself Includes Limitations"]

[Text] Dialectics tells us that everything in the world is a unity of opposites, and freedom is no exception. Freedom and limitation together constitute a unity of opposites. In precisely the same way that large and small, high and low are interdependent, freedom and limitation are also interdependent, and there is no such thing as absolute freedom that is free of limitation. In fact, precisely the contrary is the case: it is precisely because freedom does contain limitations within itself that it is freedom at all.

The freedom of a member of a given society is a unity of individual rights and duties; no one enjoys the right of absolute freedom.

First of all, every individual is a member of society, and an individual's freedom is freedom in the context of his relationship to others and to society. Therefore, this freedom itself contains limitations arising from other people and from society. An individual's freedom cannot violate the freedom of others. If when taking a bus you attempt to enjoy the freedom to occupy all the seats, that is obviously usurping the right of other people to occupy a seat. In such a case, discipline will constrain you and limit you, and this is in order to protect others' freedom. The kind of freedom that allows you to do anything you want is capable of becoming something which is not freedom. Only if you fully understand that your own freedom is limited, and that it is freedom allowed to you by discipline, will you be able to enjoy real freedom. No wonder Hegel said that free citizens best understand limitation!

Second, in a class society, individual freedom must receive limitations imposed by class. On the one hand, it is limited by antagonistic classes, and in particular the freedom of the governed class is extremely limited by the governing class; on the other hand, one's freedom is limited by the restrictions imposed upon the class to which one belongs. Therefore, individual freedom in a class society is a freedom that includes within itself the limitations of class.

Again, individual freedom must also be limited by objective laws. Freedom is the recognition of necessity and a remaking of the objective world. Any attempt to break away from objective laws and manage things in absolute freedom on an individual, subjective basis is doomed to failure. You can, with the freedom to imagine whatever

you like, imagine that at present it is possible, by means of a "poor interim," to arrive at communism; you can imagine that at present it is possible for the countryside to make the transition on a large scale to a high level of publicly owned economy; and you can imagine that the four modernizations can be accomplished in a few days. However, this kind of free imagination must certainly be limited and punished by objective laws, and so become a lack of freedom. The reason is that this freedom of yours is an illusory absolute freedom that casts off limitations, a blind freedom that denies necessity, and in reality is not freedom at all.

From this one can see that freedom itself includes limitations. Limitation is limitation within freedom; freedom is freedom within limitation; and limitation is an indispensable component of freedom. Hegel said: "Since freedom does not exist without regulation, it also does not exist in the midst of regulation; freedom at the same time, consists of both of these [regulation and nonregulation]." Freedom that has departed from definite limits is capable of becoming blind freedom, which in actuality is not freedom and discipline, a unity of right and duty, a unity of individual and society.

At present, actual, concrete, individual freedom should be freedom under the premise of keeping to the discipline of the party and the laws of the nation, because this law and discipline represent the will of the people, and without them there would be no freedom for the broad masses of people. Of course, that is not to say that one can use discipline to suppress freedom, use the concentration of power to swallow up democracy, or replace rights with duties. It is precisely the contrary: reasonable discipline, correct concentration of power, and duties that should be fulfilled are themselves the guarantees of freedom, democracy, and rights. Discipline, concentration of power, and duties, along with regulating themselves, also regulate their counterparts--freedom, democracy, and rights. From the point of view of a socialist country, the time when its law and discipline are in reality best maintained is precisely the time when its people enjoy the most extensive democracy and freedom. From the point of view of a citizen of a socialist society, the time when he most self-consciously observes law and discipline will be the time when he obtains the greatest freedom. Enjoying freedom and observing discipline and law are the same thing. From this point of view, not wanting discipline is not wanting freedom; negating the concentration of power is negating democracy; and eliminating duties is eliminating rights. Every person who really wants to enjoy socialist freedom and democracy must conscientiously observe party discipline and the laws of the nation, uphold the four basic principles, and maintain the democratic concentration of power. Of course, we must also oppose the tendency to make discipline, the concentration of power, and duty absolute and thus suppress and eliminate freedom, democracy, and rights. However, an erroneous tendency more worthy of attention at present is using the notion of absolute freedom to eliminate discipline and thus eliminate true freedom. Any comrade who wants to enjoy real freedom must conscientiously control himself and, within the limits allowed by socialist discipline and law, bring his own initiative and creativity into full play, and make a greater contribution to the building of the four modernizations.

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO DEVELOP FINE WORKSTYLE, OVERCOME BUREAUCRATISM

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 May 81 p 4

[Article by Fang Renxuan [2455 0117 5503] and Zheng Weibiao [6774 0251 2871]:
"Cadres Exhorted To Develop Fine Work Style and Overcome Bureaucratism"]

[Text] Comrade Deng Yingzhao, while speaking at the third plenary conference of the central commission for inspecting discipline, pointed out: In order unswervingly to strengthen the work style, we must oppose bureaucracy. She also added: "At present, bureaucracy is still a serious problem, and requires that we earnestly deal with it." This made a demand of our cadres: We must develop the party's fine work style and consciously overcome bureaucracy.

The party's fine work style took shape during the lengthy practice of the revolutionary struggle. It was expressed as "the party's three important styles of work," summarized by Comrade Mao Zedong, namely: integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism. The carrying out of revolution has shown, that when the cadres consciously support and develop the party's fine work style, they are able to put themselves in a correct relationship with the masses, and lead the masses in correctly implementing the party line, goals, and policies, seizing a victory in the task of revolution and construction. It was during the 10 years of upheaval that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed the party's fine work style, causing bureaucracy and other unhealthy tendencies of the cadre ranks again to gain ground. We are now in the process of carrying out the four modernizations and at present we must especially do a good job of economic readjustment. Before us are several new situations and problems requiring study and solution. These demand of our cadres, especially the party's leading cadres at all levels, that they consciously support and advocate the party's fine work style, overcome bureaucracy, and do an even better job of leading the masses in advancing the task of the four modernizations.

The development of the party's fine work style and the overcoming of bureaucracy are the main points in the strengthening of the party's construction. Our party is a proletarian political party and its purpose is to benefit the people. The party demands of the member cadres that they keep the masses in their hearts, forge close links with the masses and sincerely work for the masses; they should not close the door on, put themselves above or separate themselves from the masses. Even more important, they should not ride roughshod over the masses or do anything to harm what is beneficial to them. In addition, bureaucracy is not suited to

the character and demands of the party. We know that in primitive societies, prior to the emergence of private ownership, classes and nations, people lived a life of "collective labor and equal distribution." The relation between people was one of a equality and mutual assistance, and there existed no bureaucrats nor bureaucratism. It was only after the appearance of private ownership economies, nations and classes that there were bureaucrats who specially engaged in administrative management. Lenin pointed out: Bureaucrats who exploited the classes "at all times and places, linked the nation's power together with the benefit of the landlords and capitalists"; they "were in a privileged position before the people"; facing the bureaucrats, "the people were completely without power, while the bureaucrats in their privileged positions were never supervised." ("Fenbie Jian" [Liening Quanji], volume 29, p 86; volume 2, p 29). This clearly shows us that bureaucratism is a product of the private ownership economy and a way of exploiting the classes. It influences and corrodes the cadre ranks and is extremely harmful. We must certainly make the elimination of this type of bureaucratism the main point in the strengthening of party construction.

In order to advocate the party's fine work style and overcome bureaucracy, we must correctly develop criticism and self-criticism. It should be said that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Congress, in the implementation of the party's dialectical materialism ideological line, the work style of the party's cadres had made great progress. However, among some cadres there still exists a lack of concern for the well-being of the masses, a lack of understanding of the feelings of the masses and a sluggish bureaucratic work style in doing their jobs. Criticism of us by the masses is a manifestation of their concern for the party's cause and their concern for the cadres. We should listen with an open mind and be resolved to make corrections, and we should not be hypercritical or look for excuses to defend ourselves. More so, we should not strike back in revenge. Only in this way will our cadres be able to win the support of the masses.

Of course there is another aspect to this matter. It is true that cadres must modestly accept criticism, and that, in regard to the cadres' bureaucratic work style, the masses must carry out criticism and must strictly distinguish between the two types of contradiction which are different in nature. In addition, they must not adopt Cultural Revolution practices, such as making mountains out of mole-hills in order to incriminate others, or making a lot of noise while accomplishing nothing. They should see that the bureaucratism of the cadres is a problem of ideological work style, a result of the influence of class exploitation, and that it is essentially different from the bureaucratism of class exploitation. Therefore, we should not view those comrades who are contaminated by bureaucratic work styles as the "bureaucratic classes." Lenin has clearly pointed out: "Under socialism, those in public office will never again be bureaucrats or government officials." The struggle against bureaucracy "is as complicated as the mission to struggle against the spontaneous influence of the party-bourgeois." ("Fenbie Jian," [Liening Quanji], vol 25, p 473; vol 32, p 194). Stalin once pointed out: As long as our political power remains we must struggle against bureaucratism. "However, there must always be a sense of propriety. If we take the struggle against bureaucratism in our state organs to a point where these organs are destroyed, where the prestige of the state organs is dragged in the dust, or to a point where these organs collapse, then this runs counter to Leninism. That would be to forget these organs are Soviet organs and that they are the highest form of

state organs existing in the world." (Sidalin Quanji, vol 10 p 273). Lenin's and Stalin's exposition correctly developed the ideological weapon for the struggle opposing bureaucracy. We must certainly always keep this in mind.

Advocating the party's fine work style and overcoming bureaucracy are two aspects of one problem. Development of the party's fine work style depends on overcoming bureaucracy and other unhealthy tendencies. Effectively overcoming bureaucracy and other unhealthy tendencies will certainly further enhance the party's fine traditional work style. However, the development of the party's fine traditional work style and the overcoming of bureaucracy are imbued with struggle, and this type of struggle will be a long one. This is because in socialist societies the ideological influence of class exploitation will remain for a long period. This is especially so in China where the feudal society lasted several thousand years, and where feudalism's pernicious influence permeated all aspects of life. At the same time, our country has engaged in socialist construction in an environment of international capitalism. The influence and infiltration of bourgeois ideology continues to exist; in addition, the level of our productive forces is low and the force of habit of small-scale production which originally existed is still able to contaminate our cadre ranks. Therefore, we must establish a frame of mind for a long-term fight in regard to the struggle against bureaucracy. Any person who feels that there is a lack of alternatives, fails to take action, or does things with undue haste is wrong.

In order to develop the party's fine work style and overcome bureaucracy, we must strengthen the ideological education of the cadres, enable them to establish a world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and establish a firm mass viewpoint and a thinking which is one of wholehearted service to the people. At the same time, we must still reform those systems which go deep into life, are linked to the masses and advocate democracy. During the past few years, our party and nation have put forth stipulations for treatment of high level cadres in regard to their living standards, laying down several of the party's standards for political life, and in addition, advanced the abolishment of lifetime positions for cadres, and the implementation of democratic elections at the grassroot levels of political power. These measures were all helpful in overcoming the cadres' bureaucracy and in promoting the development of the party's fine traditional work style. We believe that if the whole party and cadres and masses work hard together, the level of the cadres' ideology will without a doubt be greatly raised, thereby promoting the advancement of the four modernizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI CONFERENCE DISCUSSES IMPROVEMENT OF PROPAGANDA WORK

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 May 81 p 1

[Article: "Conscientiously Uphold the Four Basic Principles and Do a Better Job of Disseminating the Party Line"]

[Text] A provincewide work conference covering the work of publishing newspapers and periodicals, journalism, and broadcasting was held 23-29 April in Shijiazhuang, the provincial capital. The decision to hold this conference was made by the provincial committee, and the central topics of discussion were the further study and implementation of the Central Committee's resolutions regarding the guiding principles to be followed at present in propaganda work by means of newspapers and periodicals, journalism, and broadcasting; examining ourselves and looking for ways to overcome our shortcomings; studying ways to improve propaganda work through the media of newspapers and periodicals, journalism, radio and television broadcasting, and book publishing; raising our work to a new level; and making a better contribution toward upholding the Central Committee's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum and realizing economic readjustment and political stabilization in our province.

Attending the conference were directors of the propaganda departments of the various prefectural and municipal committees, chief editors and heads of the prefectural and municipal news agencies and broadcasting stations; persons in charge of the various units of the provincial propaganda system and concerned agencies; and comrades in charge of professional and academic publications involving political affairs.

Comrade Xu Chunxing [1776 4783 1840], director of the propaganda department of the provincial standing committee, presided over the conference, which was also attended by Comrades Jin Ming [6855 2494], first secretary of the provincial committee; second secretary Jiang Yizhen [3068 0001 4176], and secretary Yin Zhe [1438 0772]. Comrade Yin Zhe delivered a report at the conference, and Comrade Jin Ming made an important speech.

Prior to the conference the various prefectural, municipal, and provincial journalistic and publishing units, along with studying and implementing the Central Committee's resolutions; looked back over the propaganda work in our province since the Third Plenum in the newspapers and periodicals, journalism, and radio and television broadcasting, as well as in the publication and distribution of books; approved accomplishments and anticipated goals; formulated measures for improvement; and made the necessary preparations to make this conference a success.

The conference from beginning to end adopted as its guiding ideology the continued thorough study of documents relating to the Central Committee's resolutions and a thorough understanding of their spirit and substance. At the same time, they also studied recent relevant and important instructions and articles by leading cadres on the Central Committee. By means of this study, the comrades attending the conference unanimously considered that the party Central Committee's resolutions regarding guiding principles to be followed in current propaganda work in newspapers and periodicals, journalism, and broadcasting scientifically analyzed the situation in journalistic work since the Third Plenum; confirmed, in a manner of seeking truth from facts, the accomplishments that had been made; and pointed out serious existing shortcomings. Also, the resolutions clearly proposed guiding principles and tasks for the party's propaganda work in newspapers and periodicals, journalism, and broadcasting in the new historical period, as well as measures and methods for carrying out the policies and realizing the tasks. The resolutions are the concrete embodiment, on the propaganda front, of the line and programs formulated since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, and of the spirit of the Central Committee's work conference, and must be strictly adhered to by newspapers and periodicals, journalism, and broadcasting. A good many comrades reported that by conscientiously studying the Central Committee's resolutions they had clarified their direction and increased their confidence, and that if we manage things strictly in accordance with the Central Committee's requirements, we will be able to eliminate the interference of "left" versus right, and more conscientiously do a good job of disseminating the party's line, programs, and policies.

During the conference, on the basis of exchange between groups, the meeting at large was addressed by 11 comrades representing the following units: the HEBEI RIBAO, the provincial broadcasting office, the provincial publishing office, the propaganda department of the Gandan Municipal Committee, the daily newspapers of Shijiazhuang City, Langfang, Hengshui, Zhangjiakou, Baoding, and Xingtai, and the Chengde area broadcasting office; they looked back over and summed up the period of work immediately preceding, and introduced their plans for future work. Based on the situation reported on by the various places and units, since the Third Plenum a great deal of propaganda work has been carried out in our province in newspapers and periodicals, journalism, radio and television broadcasting, and publishing, actively propagating the implementation of the party's line, programs, and policies, and fundamentally upholding the four basic principles. The accomplishments have been major, and the main current of developments has been good. However, some problems or serious shortcomings still exist. The most serious manifestations of this are regarding the four basic principles, regular, persuasive, pertinent propaganda work along this line has not been sufficient; regarding opinions that violate or even oppose the four basic principles, our criticism and struggle has not been forceful enough; in propagandizing for the implementation of the spirit of the Third Plenum, our tying in of realities in passing judgment on the pernicious influence of "leftist" thinking has not been sufficiently timely or effective; we have at times been one-sided in our theoretical and policy propaganda; with regard to propaganda in literature and art, some works and programs have appeared that are not very healthy; and inaccurate reporting in journalism has occurred all too frequently. The existence of these shortcomings and mistakes has clearly had a negative influence on the quality of propaganda in newspapers and periodicals, journalism and broadcasting; the effect on society has been bad; and some of these problems have had a bad effect on the masses. Everyone indicated that we should take a lesson from all this and try to overcome these difficulties from now on.

The conference considered that if we want to study further and implement the Central Committee's resolutions regarding guiding principles to be followed at present in propaganda work in newspapers and periodicals, journalism, and broadcasting, then first of all we must further step up our study and dissemination of the party's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum. On the basis of a combination of theory and practice, we must elucidate the scientific nature of the party's line, programs, and policies and find pertinent answers to some theoretical and practical problems presented by real life. Second, we must resolutely, righteously, and convincingly propagandize on behalf of the four basic principles, and at the same time we must engage in the necessary criticism and struggle against opinions and actions that violate the four basic principles. We must elucidate, concretely the connection between upholding the four basic principles and implementing the Third Plenum's line; between upholding the four basic principles and liberating our thinking; between upholding the four basic principles and implementing the guiding principle of the "double hundred"; between upholding the four basic principles and launching a struggle on all fronts against bad tendencies; and between upholding the four basic principles and promoting democracy. Third, we must base ourselves on the concrete situation in our province, accurately do a good job of propagandizing with the emphasis on clearing up "leftist" ideology and at the same time paying attention to protesting against the problem of a tendency towards rightism and thus consolidate the situation regarding stability and unity in our province, do a good job of the work of economic readjustment, and complete every task of construction that the Central Committee assigns us. Fourth, we must conscientiously overcome and strictly avoid one-sidedness in journalistic propaganda work. In particular with regard to propaganda that has to do with essential lines and important policy questions, we must definitely seek truth from facts, take care to be scientific, obey propaganda discipline, and be extremely careful about knowing exactly what it is we want to say. Fifth, we must continue to do a good job of the work of journalism reform. Under the premise of maintaining a correct political direction, we must energetically strive for a proper content, a new and original writing style enabling the broad masses of people to really relish hearing and seeing the news, and make great efforts to heighten the effectiveness of propaganda.

During the period of the conference, everybody held discussions on the questions of how to correctly launch criticism of the party's newspapers, periodicals and broadcasting; how to do a good job of managing literary and artistic programs for radio and television broadcasting; how to strengthen the leadership of the party in journalistic work; and the question of training future ranks of journalists; and a good many good suggestions were proposed.

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING PARTY LEADERS ADDRESS UNITED FRONT WORK CONFERENCE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jun 81 p 3

[Article: "Eliminate the 'Leftist' Ideology, Develop the Patriotic United Front Work"]

[Text] "The influence of the 'leftist' ideology must be eliminated and the revolutionary patriotic united front must be expanded as a contribution to the successful readjustment of the national economy and the great cause of the early reunification of the motherland." This was the central theme of the Liaoning Provincial United Front Work Conference held in Syenyang between 26 and 31 May. During the conference, comrades reviewed the achievements of our province over the past year in widely reeducating the people on the policy of the united front and the nationality policy, and in implementing the party's policies on the united front in addition to discussing the important tasks of the united front at present. It was pointed out at the conference: Under the prolonged influence of the "leftist" ideology, today some comrades within the party still have misconceptions and muddle-headed ideas of the united front. Some comrades still take a skeptical attitude toward the revolutionary patriotic united front for this new period as "an important magic weapon." They mistakenly believe that "since the department of the united front work has fulfilled its historical mission, this work is no longer needed and important, and therefore should be terminated." Some comrades still view intellectuals as "targets of transformation" or "elements unworthy of trust."

Some comrades still have suspicions about nonparty elements assigned to the leading organs at all levels and keep nagging them. Their policy to give the nonparty elements only titular positions but not power has rendered them ineffective in carrying out their work. These misconceptions constitute a major obstacle to the thorough implementation of the principles and policies of the unified front for this new period.

The conference pointed out: There are now over 700,000 intellectuals in our province who can make important contributions to the four modernizations program, in addition to nearly 1,800 former industrialists and businessmen. Among them are experienced business managers and technical experts. Particularly noteworthy are members of various democratic parties and of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, including engineering and technical personnel, experts and professors. They are valuable assets of our country. Also residing in our province are compatriots of Taiwan origin, dependents of personnel living in Taiwan, returned overseas Chinese residents, dependents of overseas Chinese residents, and former KMT defectors. How to take good care of them will have effect on the economic construction

at home as well as the great cause of reunifying the motherland. Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the united front work, continue the reeducation of the people in the policy of the united front, and conscientiously implement the party's policies on the united front. Only in this way can we improve the cooperative relationship between party members and nonparty elements, unite forces on all fronts and encourage them fully to display their wisdom and make new contributions to the realization of the three great tasks for the 1980's, the development of the revolutionary patriotic united front, the readjustment of the national economy and political stability.

Guo Feng [6753 1496], first secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee, attended and addressed the conference. Other speakers were Bai Qian, secretary of the provincial party committee, who summed up the conference, and Zhan Yan [4545 1484], director of the department of the united front work under the provincial party committee, who delivered a report on the united front work over the past year.

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CSO: 4005/681

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO DEVELOP POTENTIAL IN HIGHER EDUCATION STRESSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 81 p 3

[Article by Zeng Fucheng (2582 4395 2052): "Tap Potential, Bring Strong Points Into Full Play, and Steadily Develop Our Province's Higher Education"]

[Text] Schools of higher education bear the heavy responsibility of training professional and talented people for the four modernizations. There are two paths to heightening the training capability of schools of higher education. The first is developing new schools; the second is to do a better job of running the schools already in existence, develop their potential, bring their advantages into full play, and so heighten their training capability. In order to answer the needs of developing the national economy, the state will in a planned way gradually proceed with the building of some new schools of higher education. However, under our present circumstances of putting into effect a further readjustment of the national economy, and with our national financial and material resources being in difficulties, it is not yet possible for us to build any more schools. Over the last few years, we have had to place emphasis on doing a good job of managing our presently existing schools of higher education, and in particular we have had to pay attention to the development of our old schools' potential and bringing their advantages into full play. In this way, we can not only expand the training capacity of our province's schools of higher education, but there will also be good economic effects.

Our province at present has 16 schools of higher education, of which 4 are affiliated with various departments under the Central Committee and 12 are under the province, and the majority of these schools were founded after liberation. In the more than 30 years since liberation, our province has increasingly developed higher education. In 1949, staff and workers at schools of higher education throughout the entire province numbered only 177 persons, of which only 98 were engaged solely in teaching, and there were 528 students in residence. In 1980, the number of staff and workers engaged in higher education reached over 12,600, of which 4,700 were engaged solely in teaching; the number of students in attendance reached 31,700. At the same time, television universities, universities for workers and staff, and peasants' universities had already been restored and developed to the point where there were over a 100 of these in existence, and the number of persons attending them reached over 16,000. Higher education in our province is already on a rather respectable scale, with a strong teaching staff, fairly good-quality schools, and a capacity for scientific research, and this is a reliable basis on which we can continue to make progress.

However, due to the fact that for a long time the business of education was not given the emphasis it should have had, and during the "Great Cultural Revolution" it was

seriously devastated, the development of higher education in our province has been severely limited, creating the present serious circumstance of a lack of human talent on every front and of our not being able to answer the needs of building the four modernizations. Within the last few years, we have still not been able to have a very great development in day session schools of higher education. Higher education in our province needs to gain a steady development, and its development should be the same as that of the national economy! It must travel the path of showing comparatively good results with little investment. That is to say, hereafter we must do a good job of spending the money to be used for developing higher education; we must stress obtaining economic results, and do our utmost to accomplish spending little money, working hard, and attaining our goal of achieving quick results with as little capital investment as possible. In order to attain this goal, it is first of all necessary to bring into full play the advantages in running the schools that our schools of higher education already have.

Our faculty has potential, and our curricula have particular characteristics.

There are mainly two aspects to the advantages of our schools of higher education running their schools:

First, the faculty has potential. Our old schools, Shanxi University, the Taiyuan College of Engineering, Shanxi College of Medicine, and Shanxi Agricultural University have a comparatively large teaching force whether in teachers of basic subjects or teachers of specialized subjects. According to statistics, at present teachers at these four schools of the rank of lecturer and above occupy 62.3 percent of the total number of teachers. Seen from the point of view of the ratio of teachers to students and the teachers' workload, there is a rather good potential here. The four schools at present have altogether over 2,600 teachers and 12,800 students in attendance, a teacher-student ratio of 1:4.88, lower than the teacher-student ratio of 1:7.24 for the four schools in 1957, and lower than the present teacher-student ratio of 1:5.36 for schools of higher education throughout the entire province. Seen from the point of view of the teachers' workload, during the period when school is in session the teachers at these four schools who are actually involved with teaching duties comprise only 32.4 percent of the total. At one school, which during the period when school is in session offers 102 courses, there are 260 teachers responsible for teaching courses, and 64 graduate assistants--a total of 324 persons comprising only 38.5 percent of the total number of teachers. Excluding those who are engaged solely in scientific research, those among the young teachers who are not able to be in charge of a class, and old, sick teachers who are not able to work, the number of those who do not have any teaching duties is still rather large. Those who teach generally have between four to six classes per week, which is lower than the teaching load of about eight classes a week before the "Great Cultural Revolution." The ranks of teachers of our province's schools of higher education have another special characteristic, which is that there are many middle-aged teachers, comprising up to 60 or 70 percent of the total number. These comrades were all trained by the state after liberation, they are mature and able, and have had quite a lot of teaching experience; they have already become our mainstay force for teaching and scientific research. Also, among the students presently in attendance there are surely a lot of talented people who will be the reserve force for the ranks of teachers of higher education. In schools of higher education in our province, there are a number of able, professional, leading cadres and management personnel. These

constitute a kind of potential advantage for doing a good job of managing schools of higher education in the future.

Second, our courses of study have particular characteristics. There are a number of specialized programs in our province's schools of higher education, such as Shanxi University's specialized programs in photoelectron studies, analytical chemistry, Chinese, and history; Taiyuan Engineering College's specialized programs in industrial and civil construction, inorganic chemical engineering, mechanized manufacturing and automated industrial enterprises; Shanxi Agricultural University's specialized program in animal husbandry and agriculture; Shanxi College of Medicine's specialized program in hygiene; Shanxi Normal College's specialized programs in Chinese and geography; and, of the [party] department-affiliated schools, the specialized courses in casting of the College of Heavy Machinery; the specialized program in ordinance of the College of Mechanization; the electromechanical course of the College of Mines; the course in planning and statistics of the College of Finance and Economics, etc., in the course of a long period of practice in teaching and scientific research, have gradually formed their own special characteristics and accumulate their own advantages. The principal manifestations of this are: There is a well-ordered body of teachers, a number of professors at a fairly high level to take the lead in the curriculum; we have comparatively advanced instruments and facilities, and comparatively complete libraries and reference sources, the quality of our teaching is comparatively high, so that we have trained a number of talented specialists with real talent and true scholarship, and many of these people have already made a contribution to the state. Our capacity for scientific research is comparatively strong, and there have been a number of important achievements in scientific research. According to statistics, over the past 3 years many of the 159 items of important scientific research results achieved by our province's schools of higher education have been completed by these specialized teachers. A number of these results already rank among the most advanced achievements of our country, and some are at an international level.

Create the Conditions Necessary To Bring our Old Schools' Advantages Into Full Play.

Our province's schools of higher education and in particular the faculty of several of our old schools have potential, and all we need to do is to increase the conditions necessary to do a good job of managing the schools and it will be possible, based on the needs of developing the national economy, to set up some additional new courses of study. For example, at present society urgently needs specialized talent in environmental protection, and we could, in schools which already have the required conditions, set up additional, separate specialized programs in environmental biology, environmental mechanization, environmental medicine, and environmental economics. In this way, it would be possible to use to full advantage the presently existing advantages such as faculty and, with a comparatively small investment, and while preserving quality, train talent for the state quicker. This will be much easier and a much better investment than, without the prerequisite conditions, building new schools from scratch. In this regard, we have already had some lessons. In the past, owing to "leftist" ideological influence, in developing higher education we did not do a very good job of dealing with the relationship between need and possibility, and between quantity and quality: We were anxious to obtain results, and expanded blindly, with the result that because we wanted to go too fast we were not able to achieve the desired results when we wanted them. In 1979, two schools of

higher education in our province both, through not having the proper conditions with regard to school buildings, faculty, and facilities, still went ahead and recruited students. If at the time they had been able to consider the use of their old schools' advantages, and had made an adequate investment in the Taiyuan College of Engineering and provided it with adequate facilities, this school then would have been able to recruit new students, and also preserve quality. Though the investment would not have been very great, the result would have been very good. Therefore, some comrades, engaged in higher education work, suggest that during the period of national economic readjustment we should first of all make proper use of our own advantageous conditions, make our presently existing base as solid as possible, and then gradually develop new schools. In the words of some comrades at the engineering college, this is "letting the chicken get good and fat before hatching any chicks." We consider that this is a correct idea on how to bring about the secure development of higher education on the basis of the capacity that we actually have.

Get a Firm Grasp on Solving Three Problems.

In order to enable the advantages of our schools of higher education to be used in their management comparatively well, we must get a good grasp on the solution of three questions.

First, we must accurately determine the schools' scope. Due to "leftist" ideological influence and the imperfection of our educational system, the scope of many of our province's schools of higher education has for a long time not been accurately determined. This has a negative effect on the development of the enterprises. We should, based on the needs of national economic development in our province, in the near future and in the manner of seeking truth from facts, accurately determine the schools' role, adopt the guiding principles that guarantee the main points of emphasis and take the situation as a whole into account and, before 1985, energetically strive to enable Shanxi University, the Taiyuan College of Engineering, Shanxi Agricultural University, Shanxi College of Medicine, and Shanxi Normal College to have their proper role laid out for them for the first time. The number of students recruited each year by these schools comprises about 60 percent of the number of students recruited by schools of higher education in this province, so that if we first of all do a good job of managing these schools, their potential advantages can be brought into full play, and this will further heighten the capacity and level of higher education in our province.

Second, we must readjust the specialized programs' facilities. At present the main existing problems with regard to the facilities of specialized programs in schools of higher education are: Some specialized programs are too narrow in scope, and are subdivided too finely; their main point of emphasis is not apparent, and the full advantages of the curriculum are not brought into full play; they are not in keeping with society's needs, and some specialized programs do not recruit students on the basis of needs but recruit students on the basis of what faculty members there are to teach them: Some specialized programs have superfluous facilities, which create a great waste in the training of talent. We should, on the basis of the present long-term needs for our national economic development, face in the direction of the combination of science with engineering and cause science and civilization to become permeated with one another, on the basis on our presently

existing faculty and other conditions, and on the basis of thorough investigation and research, do a good job of readjusting the facilities of our presently existing specialized programs. In the building of new specialized programs for schools of higher education, we should also be quite clear about what our point of emphasis is: We must place particular importance on doing a good job of running those specialized programs which possess fairly good special characteristics and advantages; and launch productive scientific research work.

Third, we must run schools under many different forms. Adult education is an important aspect of education in general. Raising the scientific and cultural level of the broad mass of cadres, staff, and workers possesses important significance to heighten the labor productivity rate and promote the building of the four modernizations. For this reason, our provinces day session schools of higher education, in completing the state's assignment of recruiting students, should bring their latent potential into full play, adopt many new forms such as running advance studies classes, television universities, correspondence universities, evening universities, and spare-time universities, step up higher education for adults, and train more talent for the building of the four modernizations.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ACTIVITIES, COURSES OF MILITARY SCHOOLS OUTLINED

Army Academies

ZHONGGUO RENMIN JIEFANGJUN YUANXIAO QINGKUAN JIANJIE [BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE ACADEMIES AND SCHOOLS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY] in Chinese May 81 pp 1-5--place of publication not given

[Text] During the prolonged revolutionary war, our party has always paid attention to the proper operation of the academies and schools of the PLA. Since the liberation of the whole country, to establish a modern revolutionary army, the Chinese Government has established a number of military academies and schools to achieve the regularization of the PLA. However, due to the interruption and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," particularly their effort to eliminate the military academies and schools, the PLA academies and schools were once seriously undermined. After the "gang of four" was smashed, we made efforts to readjust, supplement and re-establish our military academies and schools, and succeeded in their restoration and development. At present, these academies and schools are bringing up military and political cadres at the various levels as well as all types of technical personnel.

I. The Guideline of the PLA Academies and Schools

The PLA academies and schools are established according to the principles of the Mao Zedong Thought and also the education policy and the motto of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College: Uphold a correct political orientation and a plain and hard work style, and adopt a flexible and adaptable strategy and tactics and a spirit of unity, earnestness, seriousness and liveliness. The academies and schools are operated on the basis of taking the Soviet hegemonism as the hypothetical enemy, making use of the combat experiences already gained, continually drawing from foreign experiences useful to us, taking into consideration the actual equipment of the PLA and the actual needs in war, studying and mastering the combat principles and methods enabling us to defeat the better-equipped enemy, training the cadets according to strict standards and with strict demands, promoting better teaching and studying methods, bringing the enthusiasm of the teachers and cadets into full play, and carrying out mass study campaigns to meet the needs for building a modern and revolutionary armed force and bringing up red, expert, and strong commanders and technical personnel at a fast rate to prepare ourselves against future wars of aggression.

II. The Leaderships and Relationships

The National Defense Ministry is responsible for formulating the educational principles, policy and training tasks for all the academies and schools of the PLA, and handling their common problems.

The various services and branches of the PLA and the various military regions have their own academies and schools responsible for training work.

The academies and schools organize and carry out their educational tasks. Annual and semi-annual meetings are held to study and implement these tasks.

III. The Structures and Tasks of the PLA Academies and Schools

At present, there are a little over 100 PLA academies and schools, including commanding, political, technological and medical academies and schools, and the aviation schools.

There are senior, middle and junior commanding academies and schools to train key commandants at the army, regiment and platoon levels.

The senior military academies are engaged in training high-level commanding cadres, lasting from 1 to 2 years, mainly on tactics and campaigns, with greater emphasis on campaigns. Some of the classes are taught the regiment, division and army combat tactics, with greater emphasis on the division combat tactics.

The middle commanding academies and schools are engaged in training commanding cadres at the regiment level, lasting from 1 to 2 years, mainly on regiment combat tactics and on coordinated operations with other services and branches of the PLA.

The junior commanding schools enroll outstanding squad leaders and fighters of the PLA whose cultural standards are up to senior high school level and local graduating high school students who are trained to become platoon leaders and leaders on naval vessels. The training will last from 2 to 4 years, mainly on combat tactics from platoon to battalion level, and on the tactics, technical performance, and operational principles of the weapons and equipment of all services and branches of the PLA.

There are also senior, middle and junior political academies and schools, enrolling active cadres at the platoon and company levels to be trained into political officers at the company level and commissars at the air group level; enrolling outstanding battalion cadres to be trained into regiment political cadres; and enrolling outstanding division cadres to be trained into army political cadres. The training will last from 1 to 2 years, mainly on basic Marxism-Leninism, Chinese Communist Party history, PLA political work, philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism and other courses.

There are also technological and medical colleges and vocational academies and schools. Technological and medical colleges enroll outstanding squad leaders and fighters whose cultural standards are at the level of high school graduates, and local graduating high school students to be trained into senior technological and medical cadres. The training will last from 4 to 5 years, mainly on general military courses, basic cultural and specialized courses, and specialized technological courses. The technological and medical schools enroll outstanding squad leaders and fighters whose cultural

standards are at the level of senior high school graduates, and young students, including junior high school graduates in some cases, to be trained into skilled operators, maintenance cadres, medical aides, pharmacutists, lab personnel, nurses, and technicians. The training will last from 2 to 3 years, mainly on general military courses, basic cultural courses, and general specialized courses.

The aviation schools are mainly engaged in training interceptor, bomber and helicopter flyers and navigators. The training will last from 2 to 3 years, mainly on aviation principles, aircraft structure, navigation and piloting.

IV. Training Courses

Political training courses are mainly Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with regard to the line, policy and principles of the party, to clarify the essence, tasks and methods of political work, and raise the cadets' political and theoretical level and improve their political work ability.

Military courses include mainly Chairman Mao's idea on people's war and his strategic and tactical principles, knowledge about modern wars and modern military sciences and technology, studies on modern war experiences, and the ways and means to raise the organizing and commanding ability in modern wars.

Specialized technological educational courses include studies on the basic theories and the operations of the technical equipment and weapons concerned of the various services and branches of the PLA to meet the demands of the establishment of a modern revolutionary armed force.

V. The Organization of PLA Academies and Schools

Under the leadership of each academy and school are the training, political and administrative departments. The training department is mainly in charge of the political work among all members of the academy or school concerned and the political education of the cadets. The administrative department is mainly in charge of the administrative and logistic work of the academy or school concerned. In addition, under the leadership of the principal of the academy or school, there is a cadet department or cadet regiment to assume leadership over the cadets, care for their administrative work and livelihood, and organize or assist in the work of the teaching and research offices.

(Note: Introductions to the naval and air force academies and schools are given in separate pamphlets.

Navy Schools

ZHONGGUO REMIN JIEFANGJUN HAIJUN YUANXIO QINGKUANG JIANJIE [BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE NAVAL ACADEMIES AND SCHOOLS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY] in Chinese May 81 p 1-5--place of publication not given

[Text] I. A Brief History of Naval Academies and Schools

The navy is one of the services and an important component of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. It was established on the basis of the army in 1949, on the eve of the overthrow of the reactionary rule of the Guomindang and the liberation of mainland China.

The naval academies and schools were established and developed in step with the establishment and development of the navy. The Dalian Naval School, the earliest school established for training junior naval commandants, was founded in early 1950. The Nanjing Naval Academy was founded in 1957. It was a descendant of the Navy Department of the PLA Military Academy, responsible for training middle and senior naval commandants and staff members. At present, the naval academies and schools constitute a somewhat complete system of education with a relatively complete array of specialized departments. In addition to the Nanjing Naval Academy and the Dalian Naval School, there are also naval engineering academies, submarine schools, signal schools, aviation schools, logistics school, military medical schools, and political schools. These naval academies and schools are now engaged in further readjusting and fulfilling their tasks and teaching courses according to the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement to meet the needs for establishing a modern navy.

II. Training at Naval Academies and Schools and Division of Training Responsibilities Among Naval Units

The naval academies and schools are mainly responsible for training common naval officers and officers ready for promotion. In addition, they operate some short-term training classes to offer specialized training for some officers, with each class lasting for about 6 months according to actual needs. Some of the sophisticated and specialized servicemen and NCO's are also trained in these academies and schools.

The naval units themselves also have training organs responsible mainly for training all types of technical hands. Each fleet has its own technical training units and NCO training groups. Each year, some of the recruits are required to undergo training at the technical training units for about 6 months before being assigned to the various naval positions. The petty officers are mainly trained at the NCO training groups for about a year.

III. The Training Tasks of the Naval Academies and Schools

The National Defense Ministry rules that naval academies and schools are mainly responsible for training military and political commandants below the division level and all types of technical officers. Military and political commandants at higher levels and certain types of technical officers are to be trained by academies and schools directly under the control of the National Defense Ministry and by academies and schools of other services and branches of the PLA.

Naval military commandants are trained in three stages. The first stage involves the training of junior commandants for the various departments of naval vessels selected from outstanding PLA members whose cultural standards are at the level of senior high school graduates and from local senior high school graduates, for a period of 4 years. The second stage involves the training of captains from experienced department commandants of naval vessels who had undergone training in junior commandant training schools, for a period of about 1 year. The third stage involves the training of commandants for naval fleets from outstanding captains, for about 1 year. These three stages of training are to be carried out by academies and schools at corresponding levels.

Technical and medical officers are generally trained in two categories. The first category includes middle level technical officers and junior medical personnel, to be trained from outstanding servicemen whose cultural standards are at the level of senior high school graduates and from local senior and junior high school graduates in 2 to 3 years.

After completion of the training course, the cadets will be assigned to positions for handling and repairing weapons and equipment and carry out medical work. The second category are senior engineering officers and medical personnel to be trained mainly from local senior high school graduates and some outstanding servicemen whose cultural standards are at the level of senior high school graduates, for a period of from 4 to 5 years. After completion of the training course, the cadets will be responsible mainly for engineering control, supervision in the manufacture of weapons and equipment, scientific research and medical work. The training of technical officers of these two categories is to be carried out at corresponding academies and schools.

IV. The Control system of Naval Academies and Schools

Naval academies and schools are under the direct leadership and control of the Navy. Under the Naval Headquarters are educational and training organs responsible for operating the academies and schools, formulating their training curricula, establishing specialized training courses, setting the training standards and period, and reviewing and revising the training plans. The naval political departments are responsible for the political education, the enrollment of cadets, the assignment of cadets after completion of the training courses and the assignment of teachers, and the naval logistics departments are responsible for the allocation of training equipment and funds and for the logistic work.

Each academy and school has a training department, political department and administrative department to be responsible for training, political and ideological work, and logistic work, respectively, under the leadership of the principals concerned.

Each academy and school generally has several specialized departments and their teaching and research offices. These departments, under the direct leadership of the principal concerned, are responsible for teaching and controlling the cadets under training. In each department there is a cadet training group responsible for the administrative work and the collective training of the cadets.

It has been more than 30 years since the PLA founded its navy and naval academies and schools. During this period, although we have achieved certain successes, we have also made a many mistakes. We are now engaged in summing up our experiences and lessons gained in this field. On the other hand, we should also sincerely study the advanced experiences and technology from foreign countries on the basis of the actual conditions of our own navy.

Air Force Schools

ZHONGGUO RENMIN JIEFANGJUN KONGJUN YUANXIAO ZHIGUANG JIANJIE [BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE AIR FORCE ACADEMIES AND SCHOOLS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY] in Chinese May 81 pp 1-5--place of publication not given

[Text] The PLA air force academies and schools are divided into two categories: the commandant training academies and schools and the technician training academies and schools. These academies and schools are responsible for training all types of cadres of the PLA air force.

1. The Training System and Procedure of the Commandant Training Academies and Schools

There are three stages in the training program of the commandant training academies and schools. In the first stage, flying cadets are trained in primary aviation schools. In the second stage, air group leaders are trained in intermediate aviation schools. In the third stage, cadres above the air division level are trained in air force academies.

1. Training at the primary aviation schools.

The training program is divided into four stages, as follows:

Stage 1--Training at the preparatory aviation schools.

Each preparatory aviation school enrolls aviation cadets each year from applicants with the following qualifications: Age: 16 to 18.

Education: Senior high school graduates. Physical standard: Up to the standard required for aviation. Aptitude Test: Pass. After screening against these qualifications, the qualified applicants go through the enlistment arrangements. The cadets are trained for 8 months. There are military, political, cultural and physical education courses to be studied.

Stage 2--Aviation theoretical education.

After advancing to aviation school, the cadets will undergo aviation theoretical education for 4 months. The following courses will be studied: Aviation principles, air navigation, air marksmanship, aircraft structure, aircraft generator, aircraft apparatuses and radio equipment, and aviation meteorology.

After this stage of aviation theoretical study, the cadets will have gained a theoretical foundation for mastering flying skills. In the course of flight training, the cadets will continue to study aviation theories from time to time to further consolidate their theoretical knowledge with practice to facilitate their mastery of flying skills.

After completing their theoretical study and passing related examinations, the cadets start flight training with primary trainers.

Stage 3--Flight training with primary trainers.

Flight training with piston No 6 primary trainers will last for a year, including the following courses: take off and landing, acrobatic flight, flight in formation, instrumental flight, navigation, and night flight.

After this stage of training, those who pass the examination will undergo flight training with advanced trainers, and those who fail will be discharged.

Stage 4--Flight training with advanced trainers.

Flight training with jet interceptor No 5 trainers and with interceptor No 5 jets will last for a year, including the following courses: take off and landing, acrobatic flight, flight in formation, instrumental flight, air navigation, air assault, land target shooting.

After completion of this training program, the cadets are given tests on flying skills, aviation theories, etc. by a testing committee organized jointly by the aviation school, the accepting unit and the air force authorities. Those who pass the tests will be given graduation diplomas and be assigned to combat units as cadres.

2. Training at Intermediate Aviation Schools.

These schools are engaged in training flight group leaders for a period of 6 months. The main courses are: assuming command in formation flight, carrying out air combat training, and remodeling new aircraft.

3. Air Force Academies.

These academies are mainly engaged in training military, political and logistic cadres and staff members at the regiment level, and in training a small number of commanding cadres at the division level. The training period is 1 year.

II. The Training System and Procedure of the Mechanic Training Academies and Schools

Air mechanics are trained under three categories. The first category are "yuan" [0763] grade air mechanics (airmen) who are trained at air division training groups. The second category are "shi" [1597] grade air mechanics (technicians) who are trained at air mechanic training schools. The third category are air mechanic cadres (engineers) who are above the level of squadron leaders and who are trained at the Air Force Engineering Academy.

1. Training for all types of "yuan" grade air mechanics.

The air division mechanic training groups enroll local youths whose cultural standards are at the levels of senior high school graduates or junior high school graduates. The training period is from 8 months to 1 year. These cadets undergo initial training for 1 to 2 months, followed by a period of 5 to 7 months of specialized technical training. The main courses are electric engineering, aviation principles, generator principles and structure, aircraft structure, aircraft maintenance, aircraft apparatuses, radio electronic equipment, and aircraft weaponry. After that, there is a period of on-the-job training for 2 to 3 months.

After training, the cadets should be able to preliminarily carry out aircraft inspection and maintenance before and after each flight.

2. Training for all types of "shi" grade air mechanics.

The air mechanic training schools enroll cadets from senior high school graduates and from selected "yuan" grade air mechanics whose cultural standards are at the level of senior high school graduates. The training period is 2 years. The main courses are: higher mathematics, aviation supplies, engineering mechanics, electronics, aviation principles, generator principles and structure, aircraft structure, aircraft maintenance, aircraft apparatuses, radio electronic equipment, and aircraft weaponry.

After training, the cadets should be up to the required standards of "shi" grade air mechanics capable of analyzing, diagnosing and remedying stoppages.

3. Training for air mechanic cadres (engineers) who are above the level of squadron leaders.

The Air Force Engineering Academy enrolls cadets from senior high school graduates and from selected air mechanic cadres whose cultural standards are at the level of high school graduates. The training period is 4 years. The academy has the following specialized departments: machinery, ordnance, particular equipment, radiology and radar. The main courses of study are: higher mathematics, physics, foreign languages, electric engineering, mechanic drawing, theoretical mechanics, material mechanics, engineering thermo-mechanics, pneumatic mechanics, aviation mechanics, generator principles and structure, aircraft structure mechanics, aircraft maintenance, etc.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI RADIO' CRITICIZES DENG ON PLA POLITICAL CURBS

OW160459 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 15 Jun 81

[Text] The secretariat of the CCP Central Committee, at Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction, has put up all kinds of obstacles to prevent army leaders who are members of the party Central Committee from speaking at the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Committee. What's more, the secretariat has also deliberately refrained from inviting major leading cadres of PLA units to attend the 6th plenary session as nonvoting delegates. This reflects a current established policy, namely, certain party Central Committee leaders are trying hard to exclude the army from party and state politics.

Needless to say, this policy has breached a long tradition of our party and army and the people of our country. Since its founding, our army has been a most politically conscious and well-organized political force in the Chinese revolution. The vast number of army commanders and fighters have played a tremendous role in the various stages of the revolution, and the leaders of our army have made important contributions to the party's cause, to state affairs and to government service.

Now let us recall that at the Lushan conference in 1959, it was commander Peng Dehuai who, giving no thought to personal gain resolutely resisted the erroneous line that brought calamity to the state and people. At that time, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Aiping and other leading comrades of our army also supported Comrade Deng Dehuai in a clear-cut stand. Now let us not forget that in the past, members of the CCP Central Committee representing the army always actively participated in the tasks of past plenary sessions of the CCP Central Committee and made due contributions to resolving major party and state issues. Moreover, many army delegates were invited to attend various plenary sessions of the CCP Central Committee on a nonvoting basis. This provided good opportunities for army leaders to participate in politics and raised their political consciousness and enthusiasm in politics.

But today a certain person in the party Central Committee is trying hard to destroy this tradition and abolish this convention with the aim of restricting the army leaders' right to speak--they who are also members of the party Central Committee--at the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Despite

their being political commissars of military regions, certain CCP Central Committee members are not allowed to speak at the plenary session. Even when they are permitted to speak, the text of their speeches must be approved by the secretariat in advance, and the secretariat reserves the right to ask a speaker to revise his speech according to the views of the secretariat. Obviously, this practice has nothing to do with the "guiding principles for inner-party political life."

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has asked the army not to bother with politics. This has in fact limited the participation of our army's vast number of commanders and fighters--particularly our army's leading cadres--in party and state politics. Therefore, we must point out that the revision last year of the regulation for recruiting party members in the army at Comrade Deng Xiaoping's request on the justification of limiting the number and raising the quality of the party members was in fact a trick to cut down the number of party members in the army and reduce the proportion of army members in the whole party, thereby gradually paring down the army's role in party and state politics. In short, the current policy of limiting the army leaders' political power, obstructing the participation of army leaders who are also party Central Committee members in the 6th plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee and giving the army a secondary role in state politics, is aimed at consolidating a certain person's special power in the party Central Committee and the military commission of the party Central Committee.

All this has inevitably made us wonder whether that important leader of the party Central Committee is afraid of the emergence of another Peng Dehuai in China. Is he afraid that the army may again dauntlessly and resolutely oppose the current erroneous line which will bring calamity to the state and people?

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'JIEFANGJUN BAO' REPORT ON PLA FIGHTER KILLED BY SRV

OW140120 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1235 GMT 13 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 13 Jun (XINHUA)--According to a JIEFANGJUN BAO report: During action against Vietnamese invaders in the Fakshan Mountain area in Guangxi, Li Yinglin, a new fighter, gloriously gave his life while providing cover for his platoon commander.

On that day, Li Yinglin and his platoon commander Zhou Qiyong were reconnoitering the enemy situation at the front while heavy barrages of enemy artillery shells were exploding at our positions. They had to lie down one moment and dash forward the next, leaping from one crater to another toward the front. Suddenly they heard a piercing sound of flying shell. Li Yinglin immediately leaped forward to push Zhou Qiyong to the ground and covered Zhou's body with his own body. The shell exploded and shrapnel pierced Li Yinglin's chest. The young fighter thus gave his life while trying to protect his comrade-in-arms.

During action against Vietnamese invaders, Li Yinglin always vied to perform reconnoitering tasks under enemy artillery fire. When others were wounded, he always braved enemy artillery fire to rush to their rescue. At noon one day, the Vietnamese shelled our positions and destroyed some of our shelters. There was a foxhole for only one person near Li Yinglin and platoon commander Zhou Qiyong. Li Yinglin refused the platoon commander's offer to let him use it and forcefully pushed the platoon commander inside the foxhole. Several shells exploded nearby and shrapnel scraped Li Yinglin's back and tore his clothing.

JIEFANGJUN BAO appended an epilog to the report.

The epilog pointed out: Love and friendship among comrades-in-arms are component parts of our socialist spiritual civilization. They are rooted in common ideals and forged in fighting together. They give people warmth and strength. In time of peace, they promote sincere friendship among comrades and make comrades concerned about each other. In time of war, they inspire us to share weal and woe, unite in fighting and even to give our lives to save others. The comradeship displayed by the border defense fighters in battle has set a good example for us to follow.

CSO: 4005/690

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGXI GUARD FIGHTS SRV TROOPS, WINS AWARD

OW181205 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0747 GMT 18 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 18 Jun (XINHUA)--According to JIEFANGJUN BAO, Chen Jianguo, a communist party member of the Guangxi border defense units, has won a first-class merit citation for singlehandedly combating Vietnamese troops in the fighting to defend Fakashan Mountain.

Shortly after 0300 on the morning of 16 May, Vietnamese troops launched an offensive against our Fakashan Mountain under the cover of heavy artillery fire in an attempt to invade our country's territory. Leading three light machinegunners and guarding the No 4 forward highland, Chen Jianguo reported the enemy's moves to his company while organizing firepower and taking advantage of his highland position to strafe the invading Vietnamese troops. The invaders fell one after another under the heroic frontier guards' barrage of fire and those that remained fled in disorder. As Chen Jianguo opened the first aid kit to treat his comrades' wounds, an artillery shell landed near him. He was bleeding on his face, arms and legs. He then discovered that an enemy machinegun positioned between the No 3 and No 4 highlands was strafing our position while providing cover to about two squads of Vietnamese troops who were charging toward the No 4 highland. In these critical moments of the fighting, Chen Jianguo now used a light machinegun to strafe the enemy and now fired a submachinegun or threw grenades at the enemy, while constantly changing his position. He hit the enemy so hard that they were thrown into confusion.

To commend his heroic deeds, the leading body of the border defense units conferred a first-class merit citation on Chen Jianguo.

CSO: 4005/690

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

PLA DIVISION COMMANDERS--Beijing, 7 Jun (XINHUA)--Since 1960 the PLA air force has promoted some 20 young officers to the position of flight division commander. Their average age is under 45, and the youngest is 38. They include Wu Guangyu [0702 0342 1342], Cao Cunde [2580 1317 1795], Yang Zhenggang [2799 2973 0474], Wu Huaxuan [0702 5478 6513] and Fan Wanjing [2868 8001 1987]. [OM081032 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0754 GMT 7 Jun 81 OW]

NANJING PLA AIR FORCE--Nanjing, 11 Jun (XINHUA)--Nanjing PLA air force units have won top honors in the bombing and shooting contests held for all units of the entire air force. This was revealed in a recent commendation order circulated by the air force leading organ. The achievements are due to the leadership of all leading cadres in undergoing training. They include Yuan Bin [5913 1755], commander of the Nanjing air force; Jiang Daoping [5592 6670 1627], formerly a flight division commander who is now holding a new leadership post; Li Huili [2621 1920 4409], new commander of the flight division; and Li Jiaxiang [2621 1367 4382], political commissar of the flight division. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1134 GMT 11 Jun 81 OW]

CBO: 4005/690

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON STUDY OF HISTORY

HK021446 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 May 81 p 5

[Article by Zheng Changan [6774 2490 3227]: "History and Reality"]

[Text] In the study of history, we have found that many statesmen and thinkers in ancient times paid great attention to history, especially the relationship between history and reality, regardless of the class or group to which they belonged, whether they were contemporary power holders or opponents not in power, or radicals or conservatives. They summed up historical experiences and lessons so that they could properly change various existing systems and formulate various political, economic and cultural policies. They also cited history in order to prove the correctness of their doctrines or proposals.

The study of history in ancient times often constituted a branch of the study of politics. History books compiled at that time mainly dealt with political history. In order to attain their political ends, some rulers often falsified, altered, banned or destroyed works on history.

First among all rulers who paid attention to summing up historical experiences and lessons was the Duke of Zhou in the early years of the Western Zhou Dynasty. Not long after the Duke of Zhou came to power, there took place a joint rebellion that his brothers Guan Shu and Cai Shu staged in collusion with Wu Geng, son of Zhou, the last ruler of the Yin Dynasty. The rebellion was suppressed but the Duke of Zhou had received a big shock. He therefore summed up historical experiences and lessons. With reality in mind, he formulated government policies, though what he could sum up of history then was very simple and limited, he was praiseworthy for having arrived at a new understanding. Jie, the last ruler of the Xia Dynasty, was overthrown, while Tang, ruler of the Shang Dynasty, prospered. Zhou, the last ruler of the Yin Dynasty, was overthrown, while the Zhou Dynasty prospered. Duke of Zhou considered that this was "God's will," but he also thought that this had much to do with people and things. Jie of Xia and Zhou of Yin were overthrown because of debauchery, corruption and "inattention to moral principles." The aristocrats at all levels of the Yin Dynasty were too fond of drinking and failed to unite the people. On the other hand, "no ruler" of the Shang Dynasty "from Tang to Di Yi ever forgot the rites of offering sacrifices to gods or ancestors" (offering sacrifices was then a way of uniting the people), and thus they prospered. The Duke of Zhou therefore

admonished the people of the Zhou Dynasty: "I cannot help drawing a lesson from Xia, nor can I fail to learn from the mistakes of Yin." This explains why in later generations there has been the saying "learn from the mistakes of Yin." The predominant spirit of the historical experiences and lessons summed up by the Duke of Zhou was that "things cannot often be attributed to heaven's will" and that "heaven cannot be trusted." So he could not rely entirely on heaven's will to maintain his rule. He had to "pay attention to moral principles." The main point was that we must refrain from being arrogant and self-complacent and from being self-indulgent and dissolute. We must be cautious and conscientious and be on our guard at all times. We must not be intemperate and must work hard. We must especially attach importance to agricultural production and "appreciate the difficulties involved in reaping a harvest." Mindful that the historical development of the Zhou people lagged behind that of the Yin people, the Duke of Zhou, apart from stressing the development of production, paid attention to cultural education. He established in various villages schools called "Xiang" and "Xu" (private or family schools) and allowed the people to receive schooling. Especially noteworthy is the Duke of Zhou's policy toward the people. On the one hand, he adopted economic measures to protect the ordinary people (chiefly people of the Zhou nationality), measures known as "protecting the ordinary people and comforting widows and widowers." On the other hand, he listened to the views of ordinary people politically. Just as he stressed, "if we do not take natural disasters as a warning, we must take what the people say as a warning." This means that we must draw a lesson and learn from mistakes.

The experiences and lessons summed up by the Duke of Zhou were of significance in a scientific or progressive sense. Fundamental national policies guided by them accounted for certain fine traditions that formed during the Zhou Dynasty, such as 1) "Put the emphasis on culture and education. 2) Pay attention to 'the people's will' or the idea of 'taking the people seriously'—a program which stresses things like: 'What I can see from heaven I can also see from the people; what I can hear from heaven I can also hear from the people'; 'national prosperity is a result of listening to what the people say, and national extinction a result of listening to heaven; and 'to stop the people from speaking out is more difficult than dealing with an overflowing river.'" Such systems or customs as "collecting folk songs," "letting the common people talk among themselves," and allowing the people to discuss political matters in "village schools also developed. 3) Attach importance to history. When there were differences of opinion on policy matters between the ruler and officials, the latter always cited history in answering questions or giving advice. During the Zhou Dynasty, there were installed officials connected with history. They undertook to record the ruler's speeches and acts. "The official called Zuo Shi takes down what is said while the official called You Shi takes down what happens." The officials mostly recorded facts as they were. Thus a fine tradition in our country's study of history was formed. This played a role in giving something of a warning to the ruler and high-ranking officials.

After Qin destroyed six other countries, the whole situation changed. To meet the needs of the new situation and control the vast newly-occupied areas, new systems and new policies had to be formulated. There were differences

of opinion between Qin Shi Huang and the high-ranking officials. Prime Minister Wang Guan and others suggested adopting the policy of conferring on each vassal a title to a feudal state as practiced in early Zhou. Li Si correctly cited historical experiences and lessons and proposed introducing the system of prefectures and counties. But Qin Shi Huang and Li Si also erroneously approached historical experiences. They thought that the development of culture and education was unfavorable to despotic rule and that "talking about the past" would "hurt the present." Thus the obscurantist policy of "putting officials in control of the world" and ruthless despotic rule were practiced. As a result, the Qin Dynasty was quickly overthrown in an uprising by the people.

The rulers of early Han studied the history of survival and extinction with regard to the Qin Dynasty--the *Cuo Qin Lun* ("On the History of Qin") written by Jia Yi being a typical work. They changed certain systems and policies. It has often been said that "Han carried on the Qin system." This is not actually the case. Han carried on and also changed what was handed down. The system of dukes or princes calling for installing the sons and younger brothers of the emperor as princes. The policy of sharing restored prosperity with the people, the policy of partially liberating female slaves, the policy of reducing land rental paid by a tenant farmer (from one-tenth to one-thirtieth) and the poll tax (one to one-third of the original amount) to protect peasants who cultivated their own land, and so forth--all these were formulated by summing up historical experiences and taking reality into consideration. They were of positive significance and also had their negative sides.

Liu Xiu, Cao Cao, Zhu Geliang and others were all outstanding statesmen with a relatively rich store of historical knowledge. This knowledge had a relatively great effect on the strategies and policies formulated by them.

Emperor Taizong of Tang was an enlightened ruler good at drawing lessons from history. From the fall of emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty and from historical experiences over a long period, he saw the strength of the people. He affirmed the principle of interdependence between ruler and people--the principle of "water being capable of carrying a boat and equally capable of capsizing it." Meanwhile, from political experiences through all ages, he saw the defects of despotic rule and was willing to listen to the differing views of officials. He was good at "accepting advice." These ideas played a major role in his defining various policies. The program on reform by Wang Anshi which was of significance in a progressive sense was formulated by summing up history and taking reality into consideration. Emperor Kang Xi also had a relatively rich store of historical knowledge. According to him, because the threat to China had for generations come mostly from the north, he was very prudent in handling relations with nationalities in the north. He had fears when there was a natural disaster or famine. A natural disaster often gave rise to an uprising by the peasants. This caused him to pay great attention to controlling the Huanghe River and building irrigation facilities. He encouraged agricultural production and put emphasis on relief measures.

Of course, statesmen in ancient times could not sum up history scientifically. Moreover, they always learned from historical experiences and lessons with narrow immediate interests in mind. Therefore, they unavoidably made one-sided mistakes or responded to some negative influences.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Zedong paid unusually great attention to the great significance of linking the study of history with reality. Mao Zedong time and again stressed that we must study Marxist theory and the history of the motherland as a guide to revolutionary movements in real life. At present, our country must take Marxism as a guide in scientifically conducting education in historical materialism and patriotism. This is of great significance in a realistic sense.

CBO: 4005/691

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON WRITERS' CREATIVE ATTITUDE

HK090930 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 81 p 4

[Article by Cheng Menghui [4453 1322 3549]: "Brightness and Darkness, Love and Hatred of Artists"]

[Text] During the period of China's new democratic revolution, there emerged great literary masters such as Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun. They advanced in the turbulent current of the time and opened up new avenues for artistic creations in the people's revolutionary struggle. They praised brightness and exposed darkness. With faith and loyalty to the people, with love for justice and with hatred and contempt for evil, they searched for the true meaning of life and the bright future in the grim and dark long nights of old China.

Today, our literary and art circles are undertaking the special mission of constructing the socialist spiritual civilization. This task is indeed heavy and the road is long. Since smashing the "gang of four," our country's literary and art creations have shaken off the influence of the ultraleftist line. The brilliance of revolutionary realism has reappeared and flourishing spring scenes are seen in the garden of socialist literary and art. Socialist literary and art creations are unprecedentedly animated. A large number of fine works filling people with enthusiasm, enjoying great popularity and reflecting the socialist spirit of the time have emerged. They have played a positive role in enriching the people's spiritual life, raising the people's spiritual level and arousing the people's revolutionary fighting will. However, together with these have also appeared some matters which call for the deep thought of serious writers and artists. Because the ideological level of some writers is not high and their aesthetic interest is not healthy enough, the tendency of hankering after novelty is revealed in their works, such as inventing breath-taking, bitter, queer and horrifying plots; prejudicially exaggerating very limited and partial social darkness as universal and overall social darkness, thus giving readers a passive and pessimistic impression. These works lack the positive force of enthusiasm, progress and exerting oneself. There are also biases of this kind or that in the search for artistic forms.

The emergence of this phenomenon shows that some comrades' sense of the mission entrusted them is not strong and that their sense of revolutionary responsibility

is very poor. Their personal pulse is not attune with the time and they have not integrated their personal feelings, desires, tastes and pursuits with our glorious mission but are divorced from our time and revolutionary reality in search of nihilist things. Of course, we do not deny that writers should have their own thoughts and feelings (and should have strong thoughts and feelings) and their own aspirations and interests. But no one's feelings should be separated from the fundamental question of the motherland's future and the nation's destiny. Writers must write about things they understand and they are familiar with. This is indeed a law of artistic creation which cannot be ignored. Regardless, the problem of what to love and what to hate is also involved. In a certain sense, what to love, what to hate, what to praise and what to ridicule in literary and art works are also the self expression of the personal thoughts and feelings of writers and artists. There has all along been the question of personal stand, love and hatred of a writer or artist in handling the relationship between praising brightness and exposing darkness. In order to praise the brightness of the time, a writer must have strong and clear-cut love and hatred. In addition, he must have the ability to understand brightness and discover brightness. Otherwise, praising brightness will only be empty talk. This is true in praising brightness and it is also true in exposing darkness. It is unimaginable that a writer or an artist who does not possess advanced aesthetic interests and aesthetic ideals and who does not have clear-cut love and hatred for things can create works which expose and castigate ugliness and wickedness. Here, a problem often develops, that is, our writers and artists are required to love life, love justice, seek truth and seek brightness. In creating the "government inspector," Gogol once said: I am determined to amass all the ugly and wicked things and all the unjust acts in Russia I know of for ridicule, especially those unjust acts that were committed precisely at places and in situations where people were expected to act justly. Gogol's words are enough to show that he sought brightness and loved justice. It should be pointed out that the merciless exposure of darkness and the contempt and ridicule of ugliness and wickedness in literary and art creations are precisely for arousing the people to make a clean break with vulgar, debased, ugly, wicked and decadent things so that they will heighten their vigilance, raise their consciousness, correct their mistakes and make improvement. In short, they are precisely for better upholding justice, safeguarding truth, praising brightness and praising the true, the good and the beautiful of the time. This is the dialectics in handling brightness and darkness in literary and art creations. This creative attitude of Gogol should be learned and used for reference by our writers and artists today.

To sum up, in order to fulfill better the bounden duties and obligations of a people's writer or artist, our comrades should explore the brightness of the time without any selfish motives and they should never abandon their conscience in their quest to create by allowing indecent intentions to hold sway. Writers and artists should always be engineers in portraying human souls. What they contribute to mankind should be beautiful jade and pearls. Their most sacred objective should be tugging at people's heartstrings with the force of the true, the good and the beautiful, awakening the people's sleeping souls and opening up a more noble and more beautiful future with their fighting pens!

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

FOREIGN LANGUAGE RESEARCH--Hangzhou, June 7 (XINHUA)--Chinese Foreign Languages Research Society, a nationwide organization which will carry out academic exchanges and work to raise China's level of foreign language teaching and research, has been set up in Hangzhou. Professor Ji Xianlin, vice president of Beijing University, was named president. The society will set up branches dealing with English, Russian, French, German, Japanese, Spanish, Arabic and not commonly used languages, as well as basic foreign language courses for college students and foreign language teaching in middle and primary schools. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0801 GMT 7 Jun 81 OW] Hangzhou, 3 Jun (XINHUA)--A founding meeting for the Chinese Society for Research in Teaching Foreign Languages was held in Hangzhou from 24 to 30 May. The meeting elected Professor Ji Xianlin, vice president of Beijing University, as president of the society. It also elected Fu Ke, Chen Jia, Wang Zuoliang, Li Funing and Liu Hemin as vice presidents. The society will organize China's foreign language teachers and researchers to carry out academic exchanges at home and abroad to further improve the teaching of foreign languages. The society will establish 10 branch societies for research in teaching English, Russian, French, German, Japanese, Spanish, Arabic and uncommon languages. [OW061255 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0040 GMT 3 Jun 81 OW]

CBO: 4005/691

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE REPORTS ON DISTURBANCES IN XINJIANG

Hong Kong CHENG HING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 3, 1 May 81 pp 20-24

[Article by Chen Ding (7115 0002): "The Truth About the Disturbances in Xinjiang"]

[Excerpts] Editor's note: At the end of last year, disturbances broke out on a large scale in Xinjiang, which had aroused for a while attention and various speculations among people outside China. It was said that the Chinese Communist authorities sent troops there to carry out bloody suppression. What was the truth about the incident? The following report gives the details gathered from an investigation.

At the end of last year, disturbances broke out on a large scale in Xinjiang, which involved as many as 60,000 to 70,000 people. When the incident reached its climax, in the city of Aksu, situated in western Xinjiang, some government offices were taken over by these people. Finally, the local authorities put great pressure on them, and soon had the situation under control. However, the authorities were compelled to make some important concessions. Since the incident involved wide areas and touched off a general shock, the trouble has not completely ended today. Its repercussions have been fairly far-reaching.

Among those who took part in the disturbance, 9 out of 10 were young men and women from Shanghai and the local people married to them. At the climax of the incident, a handful of local ruffians and riffraff also sneaked into the crowds and tried to fish in troubled waters; however, their number was very small and could not be compared with that of the Shanghai youths. Nonetheless, this small handful of rascals caused trouble. They took advantage of the situation to practice fraud, giving an excuse to the authorities to use force to suppress them. This could only be very regrettable.

This incident took place in the city of Aksu, Xinjiang. Disturbances continued for more than a month. Judging from the number of people and the area involved, this is one of the most serious incidents ever to occur in Xinjiang since the founding of the Chinese Communist regime. This protracted and widespread commotion may be compared with the incident in early 1960's when the Soviet Union incited the minority nationalities in the frontier borders to escape in large numbers. The merciless bloody conflict in the last stage of the disturbance was not entirely unavoidable. The cause of this tragic development was that the young people were

too stubborn and went to extremes, and that the local authorities ignored the difficulties of the young people and handled their case improperly.

As early as last autumn, the Shanghai youths of all farms near Aksu began to discuss with the local authorities their return to their native places. They openly established ties among themselves, formed an alliance, and elected scores of eloquent delegates to conduct negotiations with the local authorities. The delegates were elected by popular votes, and felt themselves to be duty-bound. They tried hard to approach various quarters, and persistently held continuous talks with the party committees of all the farms.

At these talks, the party committees of the farms thought that they had no authority to make any decision on this important issue, and unanimously said that they could not give any answer before they asked the leadership at a higher level—the Aksu Prefecture Administrative Office—for instruction.

The instruction from the higher level stated: "It is truly difficult to accept the demand of the Shanghai youths. It is up to the grass-roots units to do patient and meticulous ideological work to enlighten the young people." In spite of this instruction from above, the party committees of farms knew quite well that it would not be an easy job. As long as the basic problem of the Shanghai youths remained unsolved, it would be difficult to do the ideological work.

The party committees were fully aware of the danger of incurring the anger of the masses, and they also realized the great difficulty in doing any work of ideological education. Therefore, they tried to shift the responsibility to the higher level and told the delegates that they had already done their best to present the case to the higher level and at the moment had no means to solve the problem, but if the leadership of the higher level would accept the demand of the delegates, they certainly would not create any obstruction. This statement was nothing but a hint to the delegates to go to the leadership of the higher level for a possible solution.

The delegates were convinced that what the party committees said was the fact, and that the key to the solution of the issue was not held by the party committees of the farms. Therefore, they consulted with the masses and decided to approach directly the Aksu Prefecture Administrative Office. When the delegates arrived at the administrative office for negotiations, the office immediately made an emergency call to the Xinjiang Autonomous Region Party Committee in Urumqi. A telegraphic reply gave instructions that this contradiction should not be referred again to higher authorities, and should be dealt with on the spot. When the Aksu Prefecture Party Committee received the telegram, they knew very well that it would be exceedingly difficult to deal with the Shanghai youths who would start making trouble if they were not allowed to go home. However, under the circumstances, the party committee could only try to carry on their negotiations with the delegates as long as possible. This was the reason why from beginning to the end, the disturbances were confined only to the Aksu area and did not spread to the municipality of Urumqi and other areas.

In the course of their negotiation with the Aksu Prefecture Administrative Office, the delegates found that the two sides held incompatible views, and that peaceful

negotiation alone could never solve their problem. Then, the delegates decided to resort to force in order to bring pressure to bear on the authorities and compel them to make concessions. With this decision in mind, they began to concentrate forces and exploit the situation. Instead of marching over a great distance to the far-away city of Urumqi to present their case, they would rather create a disturbance in Aksu where all Shanghai young people gathered. It would also be easier to consolidate their position and gradually expand their influence. This was another reason why the disturbances were kept within the bounds of the Aksu area.

In the course of negotiations, the authorities stressed repeatedly that the central authorities had stated clearly in the documents that Shanghai youths who immigrated to Xinjiang before the "Cultural Revolution" were not included in those who could be sent back to big cities, as the documents specified a time limit which could not be extended under any circumstances. The authorities also explained that if the government made an exception for the benefit of the Shanghai youths by ignoring this time limit, then everywhere in the country people who had been sent to the rural villages since the days of liberation would certainly get up without delay and strive to do the same thing. It would even stir up the masses of workers who had come to the hinterland in support of national construction in the past 30 years. Therefore, in this case a slight move in one part might affect the situation as a whole. The authorities also warned that Xinjiang stood at the forefront opposing the Soviet Union. The strong enemy was pressing on our frontiers, and the situation was very tense. Any reckless action would only do harm to our country and the people. To make a long story short, the authorities asked the delegates to tell all Shanghai young people that they should take the general interests into consideration and be concerned with the whole situation, understand the present difficulties of the government, and refrain from making any rash move. Of course, the Shanghai youths were in real difficulty, and the government would certainly put the matter on the agenda and gradually solve it.

It seems that the authorities made a reasonable explanation of their views on the objective situation; however, the delegates held radically different views and rejected such an explanation as merely repeating the official clichés of Chinese Communists, of which they had heard enough in the past 20 years, and it did not help them a bit to improve their conditions. Life is short, they waited patiently for 20 years, should they have to wait for another 20 years? The delegates also alleged that the authorities made high-sounding statements, but many young people of influential families who had good connections managed to have their residence registration transferred to big cities. Did not the authorities handle these cases? This was a major complaint made by the long frustrated Shanghai youths.

There was one more thing which should not be overlooked. It was true that a very few persons hated the socialist system, wished for some change, fanned up trouble among the young people, and continuously poured oil on the fire, so that the negotiations between the two sides broke down, and antagonism was intensified. By mid-November, the views of the two sides became as incompatible as fire and water, each gathered its forces, and the situation quickly worsened to an almost hopeless state.

From mid-November the Shanghai young people began to leave their farms one after another and go to Aksu city in support of their delegates; meanwhile, many delegates

also returned to their farms for consultation with other young people. At that time, all farm party committees were very much aware of the strong feelings among the young people, and could only go along with such activities. The majority of the young people were determined to stage a mass demonstration, if necessary, before the authorities in Aksu, and vowed not to give up before they got satisfaction.

In the last 10 days of November, about 10,000 Shanghai young people gathered in the city of Aksu, and this number increased day by day. The situation was on the verge of getting out of hand. The delegates had in mind the strong support of tens of thousands of the young people, and were ready to take extreme actions.

The delegates organized the young people to hold a protest rally and go on a hunger strike before the Aksu Prefecture Administrative Office. When many young people left their farms, they were misled by rumors spread by evildoers that the authorities had made a concession to the ringleaders by giving them permission to transfer their residence registration back to Shanghai. This led all the young people to sell their possessions and hurry with their wives and children to Aksu. Though some of them did not entirely believe the rumors, they thought it necessary to take strong measures to get results, so they sold their possessions, and formed an army of hundreds of families to march toward Aksu. Therefore, the demonstration and hunger strike staged by the Shanghai youths presented a tragic scene of people in desperation.

The news spread quickly, more and more Shanghai young people rushed here from farms in the proximity of Aksu such as the Victory Farms No 7, No 9 and No 13 and Upper Stream Farm No 1, and even from more distant Victory Farms No 16 and No 18 many young people came in a hurry to give their support. The number of demonstrators increased continuously and reached finally as many as 60,000 to 70,000. In a mass demonstration of this great number, good and bad people mixed up. Therefore, the situation soon became out of control.

As so many young people had sold all that they had, brought their wives and children along, and by coming here had cut off all means of retreat to protest against the authorities, they were most determined in their fighting will, because it would be dreadful to them to contemplate all the consequences of a retreat. This big crowd of homeless people, including women and children, presented a pitiful sight reminding them of their experience in the past 20 years, and making them increasingly more intransigent. They all thought that this crucial fight for their future came down to the moment when one must "burn one's boats and fight with one's back to the river."

Unfortunately a series of events triggered the outbreak of disturbances. Among the tens of thousands of demonstrators who took part in the hunger strike, about 100 people, including women and children, could not stand the terrible situation and died from exhaustion. During the demonstration, the Aksu local authorities did a great deal of ideological work, sent delicious food several times, and tried to persuade them to eat instead of torturing themselves. However, the demonstrators were determined to fight to the bitter end, and refused to give up halfway. The demonstration organizers called upon the young people not to take any food offered

by the authorities, lest they would lose their cause. When some of the hunger strikers died from starvation, tension mounted up to the breaking point, and thus disturbances broke out.

The young demonstrators believed that the authorities were too stubborn to make any concession and should be held responsible for the deaths of the hunger strikers; therefore, they pointed the spearhead of their struggle at the local government offices.

The demonstrators elected a leading group and set up a command of seven members including Ou-yang Lian [2962-7122 6647], Wang Liangde [3769 5328 1795] and Qiu Shian [6726 0013 1869]. (The Hong Kong papers wrongly reported them as the leaders who organized demonstrations in Shanghai.) With the slogan "Die at Aksu, return to Shanghai alive!" they immediately took action in military style, and attacked some government offices in Aksu city. Of course, the authorities tried to restrain the situation within limits, and sent forces to suppress the attackers. However, the troops were ordered not to open fire at the masses, and the security personnel also did not shoot. The confrontation was limited to only hand-to-hand fighting and scuffles. People outside carried the report that the army mercilessly machine-gunned the crowd, which was simply an unfounded rumor. Not only was it impossible for such a thing to occur, but it was entirely different from the development of the incident after the first attack.

The riot command realized the seriousness of the incident, and decided at this critical moment to risk everything on this venture, with the hope that they could arouse the serious attention of the Xinjiang Regional Party Committee and even the central leadership to intervene. In that case, they would gain the initiative and achieve final success in one battle. Then, the aforesaid seven-member leading group decided to organize a "dare-to-die corps," a "pickets team" and a "dog beating team," and tried to push forward the action of an all-out attack on the government offices.

The "dare-to-die corps" was formed by young people of physical strength to serve as vanguards in all attacks, they were dauntless and quick in action. Whenever the opponents slightly slackened their vigilance, the corps would lead a large group of followers to charge forward and drive away the opponents, and then take over the whole building. The "pickets" were to maintain order and prevent bad people from fishing in troubled waters and taking advantage of the situation to do harm to others, so that things would not get out of control and the local authorities could not find any excuse for taking repressive action. The so-called "dog beating team" was a unique invention during mass disturbances in mainland China. In fact, the command knew that when their struggle escalated, a good number of people would wish to back out and disappear in spite of the fact that all demonstrators had emotionally made their pledge "better to die in glory than live in dishonor." (The command called defectors and opponents "running dogs.") To enforce internal discipline and to deal with outside opponents, a special "dog beating team" was organized. In all fairness, the "dog beating team" was somewhat cruel in its action, had a bad name, and was very unpopular.

As an old Chinese saying goes: "An army burning with righteous indignation is bound to win," the demonstrators with their numerical superiority were in a favorable position. Moreover, they were well organized, the members of the "dare-to-die corps," the "pickets" and the "dog beating team" were determined fighters who acted swiftly and effectively, and played a great role. A more important fact was that the local Aksu authorities and the military had shown extreme self-restraint and never opened fire on the masses. Therefore, after the demonstrators launched their attack, they soon occupied all important government offices in Aksu city.

From the end of November to the beginning of December, all government offices which were marked as targets of the attack in Aksu city, including the Aksu Prefecture Administrative Office, the Bureau of Agriculture and Reclamation and the Bureau of Public Security, were taken over by the rioters. The government leaders trying to avoid further conflict, moved their living quarters, and disappeared from the scene. Even the security personnel who were duty bound to watch the development of the situation also went into hiding. In these days all political functions were paralyzed in Aksu, and the entire city seemed to be under the control of the demonstrators.

However, the great majority of the demonstrators did not hate the socialist system in mainland China, and had started the riot mainly to bring pressure to bear on the authorities and carry out their long-cherished wish to go back home to Shanghai. Therefore, after they occupied the Aksu government offices, they committed no outrages and maintained fairly good discipline. It is undeniable that a small number of lawbreakers who desired to stir up trouble tried to use this opportunity to reap some profit. But their number was too small to have any effect on the situation. Under the circumstances, the demonstrators made no move and waited for the local authorities to appear at the conference table.

On the other hand, the Aksu Prefecture Party Committee after seeking instructions from the higher level, understood very well the real intentions of the demonstrators, felt the pressure from what had taken place, and decided to do what they failed to do. They immediately made a concession and agreed to send all the Shanghai young people back to Shanghai by rail in groups at different times. They also announced that those who were determined to return home could have their residence registration transferred back to Shanghai through their offices. This removed the cause of grievance, and quickly pacified the demonstrators.

As a result, all young people withdrew from the government offices, and made preparation for their departure. Then, the young people were sent group by group back to Shanghai. In the ordinary course of events, as things developed to this stage, all parties should be pleased. However, unexpectedly, upon their arrival in Shanghai, these young people were not welcome by everyone including their own parents. It was really not surprising. After more than 20 years, time had changed the situation, and the family members became estranged. Moreover, in Shanghai the living quarters of common families were very restricted, and could hardly accommodate the returned young people with their wives and children. There was something even more serious. In spite of the fact that the Xinjiang authorities had sent their residence registration back to Shanghai, the Shanghai authorities categorically refused to accept this transfer. This was indeed a hard blow on the returned young people. They were caught in a dilemma and became very much embarrassed.

However, the young people refused to reconcile themselves to their fate and tried to repeat what they had done in Aksu. Once again they gathered together and held demonstrations in the streets. Unexpectedly their action did not work this time, and they met with complete failure. The fact was that they lost the support of the local people, and that even their parents were displeased with them and asked them to return to Xinjiang as soon as possible. Their parents and brothers were willing to give them some money so that they could buy articles of daily use back in Xinjiang. When things reached this stage, only a very few young people from rich families could remain in Shanghai to while away their time; all the others regretted very much that they had played a losing game. They began to realize that they should not have sold all their possessions on departure from Xinjiang because sooner or later they must return there to live again. Indeed, "if they had known beforehand what they know today they would not have come back to Shanghai." Facing bitter reality, and under the persuasion of the Shanghai authorities and the urging of their family members, all the young people could not but return to Xinjiang.

Meanwhile, under instructions from the central government, the local authorities in Xinjiang had also made proper preparations for resettling the Shanghai youths. They repeatedly announced that those who had taken part in the disturbances would not be held responsible for their past action and would be treated in the same way as the others; moreover, practical measures were taken suitably to look after these "returnees" livelihood so that they should not worry about their future.

However, for the seven ringleaders and those who had committed crimes during the disturbances, the outcome was not so fortunate because they had incurred popular indignation and violated the law. Early last December when all the demonstrators left the scene of disturbance in Aksu and made preparations for departure, the local authorities arrested these people as soon as the situation calmed down and public order was restored. On December 27, the Aksu Prefecture Administrative Office and Public Security Bureau jointly issued an announcement of their arrest.

By then, the disturbances in Xinjiang were completely over. On January 23 of this year the XINHUA News Agency published the following report: "Recently Wang Zhen [3769 7201], member of the CCP Central Committee's Political Bureau, paid a visit to Xinjiang and urged cadres and young people of all nationalities to carry forward the glorious tradition, continue their hard struggle, step up the frontier construction and bring benefit to future generations." After the publication of this report, overseas newspapers assumed that during the riot in Xinjiang it was Wang Zhen who hurried there and put down the disturbances with the local troops. Such statements were entirely groundless. As described above, no large-scale military action was ever taken during the incident. According to very reliable sources, after the Xinjiang incident, the Party Central Committee's Secretariat and the concerned departments of the State Council held a joint conference, presided over by Hu Yaobang [5170 3069 6721], general secretary of the CCP Central Committee, to discuss ways of dealing with the consequences of the policy of sending young people to the rural areas. The conference held that the policy enforced in the past to persuade young people in big cities to go to frontiers and settle down for good was very untimely and entirely disadvantageous to the country, to the peasants and to the young people, and that any mismanagement would constitute a hidden danger of social unrest. Undoubtedly, the Xinjiang incident further proved this point.

The conference unanimously agreed that judging from China's present social conditions, in the future we still have to promote the policy of sending large numbers of people to remote frontier areas; however, according to lessons drawn from past mistakes, we must change our practice in implementing this policy. Our past experience has proved that young people in big cities could not form the main force to carry out this policy. Due to the limitation of various local conditions, they found it difficult to feel at home. Besides, the central government every year spent considerable sums of money on their resettlement. As far as economic results are concerned, the fact has shown that we "got half the result with twice the effort," and "the loss outweighed the gain."

Finally the conference made the decision to immediately make plans for mobilizing peasant families in densely populated provinces, such as Shandong, Henan and Hebei, to move their homes to remote frontier areas and settle down for good. For this movement, the principle of voluntary participation should be adopted, and proper material incentive should also be given, such as paying each peasant family 500 yuan as a rehabilitation expense. On arrival at their destination, they should be given sizable private plots of land. It should be stipulated that no agricultural tax in grain should be levied on newly reclaimed wasteland within 5 years, and so forth and so on. At present the central government has stipulated that peasants in Shandong and Hebei Provinces can on their own move to Heilongjiang Province, and peasants in Henan Province are permitted to move their homes to Xinjiang. The conference expressed the view that Heilongjiang and Xinjiang are situated on the frontline of China's border defense, and both have large areas of virgin wasteland. A project of sending people to these regions for resettlement will be strategically advantageous. Moreover, peasants in densely populated provinces are leading a life of considerable difficulty, and they will gladly accept the plan of moving their homes to these regions. According to reports, the CCP Central Committee considers this project both practical and effective and, therefore, has fairly good faith in it. As a first step in 1 or 2 years, the government is planning to send 100,000 peasant families each to Heilongjiang and Xinjiang as an experiment.

9039

CSO: 4005/608

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG PAPER LINKS 'BITTER LOVE' TO PLENARY SESSION

HK191010 (Tentative) Hong Kong CHENG MING JIH PAO in Chinese 19 Jun 81 p 1

[Report from Beijing: "Sixth Plenary Session Under Attack: Deng Xiaoping Finally Quells the Storm"]

[Text] The convening of the sixth plenary session of the CCP Central Committee shows that Deng and Hu have brought under control an attack neither serious nor mild. This attack directed against the sixth plenary session was launched on the pretext of criticizing "Bitter Love."

After the publication of Bai Hua's "Bitter Love," it was viewed by certain top-ranking generals and leaders, and especially a deputy chief of general staff in the headquarters of the general staff as a poisonous weed. It was demanded that this poisonous weed be criticized. Later, a joint letter was sent to Wei Guoqing, chairman of the General Political Department, requesting him to declare his stand on the matter and demanding that "Bitter Love" be openly criticized in JIEFANGJUN BAO.

After a period of preparation, the army paper published on 20 April an article written by Liu Baiyu as a contributing commentator openly criticizing Bai Hua's work. Then a supplemental issue, SHIDAI DI BAOGAO [REPORT ON THE ERA], published on 23 April followed up JIEFANGJUN BAO's criticism as a matter of course. Huang Gang, a goon known as "Yao the Second" also asserted his authority in an attack.

At first, people just wrote off the army paper's criticism as a willful negation of the thriving scene that had appeared, since the third plenary session, in literature and art under the guidance of the principle of emancipating the mind and letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. But the criticism took place on the eve of the impending sixth plenary session. This smacked of something unusual. It can be said with certainty that some people not only want to change the relatively free atmosphere of literature and art but also want to directly attack the third plenary session--prepared to apply pressure on the sixth plenary session. Deng Xiaoping had seen the movie adapted from "Bitter Love." He considered that it had defects and might be criticized. But some people have magnified Deng Xiaoping's view and gone so far as to equate his use of the word "criticize" with "attacking by criticizing." These people want to use the big stick. Their motive is quite obvious.

The criticism brought to bear on Bai Hua has caused great dissatisfaction on the part of people at home and abroad. Two hundred students at the Beijing University openly demanded that Huang Gang come to the Beijing University for a debate. But Huang Gang did not dare to accept the challenge. Strong response from people at home and abroad and the approach adopted by certain people with ulterior motives have aroused the vigilance of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang, who have acted quickly. In order to avoid a direct clash and an escalation, they have seized various opportunities (including talks with others)--through Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Zhang Guannan and other leaders in literary and art circles--to indirectly criticize the approach adopted by JIEFANGJUN BAO. Meanwhile, from 21 April to early June, articles were continuously arranged for publication in newspapers to offer a subtle rebuttal, in order to offset the adverse influence of the army paper's criticism. Most noteworthy is an article entitled "Thriving Literature and a Writer's Duties" published in RENMIN RIBAO on 22 May--which clearly pointed out that we should not replace an artistic analysis with political criticism and must thrive on the truth and not on frightening others. On the other hand, various provincial propaganda departments were advised by telephone by the central propaganda department to take note of the following several points: 1) In the future, generally, criticism articles should include the names of the authors; 2) We should not vie with each other in reprinting articles published in a magazine or newspaper, and 3) We cannot cope with literary and art problems through such means as a political movement or one in a disguised form (actually referring to the army paper). Then, on 8 June, RENMIN RIBAO came out with an article "Unfold Healthy Literary and Art Criticism" spelling out the telephone circular of the Central Propaganda Department in black and white. After a series of measures, certain people's arrogance was deflated. The Bai Hua incident basically came to an end. The result of this counterattack has paved the way for the sixth plenary session.

CSO: 4005/688

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG PAPER DISCUSSES HU YAOBANG, 'GU ERTAN INCIDENT'

HK251244 Hong Kong CHENG MING JIN PAO in Chinese 25 Jun 81 p 1

[Dispatch from Beijing: 'Hu Yaobang Erroneously Criticized Gu Ertan and Conducted Self-Criticism Afterward, but His Prestige Has Actually Risen']

[Text] Before the preparatory meeting for the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was held, many people doubted whether the appointment of Hu Yaobang as party chairman would be adopted by the plenary session. At present, however, news has it that his appointment as party chairman is certain. Hua Guofeng's stepping down and Hu Yaobang's rise may be regarded as Deng Xiaoping's victory. Yet, this has something to do with the recent rise of Hu Yaobang's prestige.

Everyone knows about the recent "Bai Hua incident," but not all know about the "Gu Ertan incident." The rise of Hu Yaobang [words indistinct]

Gu Ertan is chief editor of YU HUA, a literary magazine published in Nanjing. He is one of the leaders of the Jiangsu Provincial Federation of Literary and Art Circles. Last year, he delivered a speech at a forum of young writers held in Jiangsu. He said that a writer should dare to make a breakthrough artistically and ideologically, otherwise his works should not be published. He added that the four basic principles should of course be upheld, but breakthroughs should also [be] allowed. He expressed his view toward "upholding the socialist road," "upholding the proletarian dictatorship," "upholding the party's leadership" and "upholding Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought." In essence, he meant that it is first necessary to clearly understand the things which are to be "upheld" and we should not talk ambiguously about "upholding" this and "upholding" that. Later, he rearranged his speech, put it in writing and published it in YU HUA magazine at the beginning of this year. At that time, some saw that many people sang a tune different from the "four upholdings" stressed by Deng Xiaoping and, taking Gu Ertan's article as a typical case, reported it to the CCP Central Committee. After reading this report, Hu Yaobang wrote some instructions on it: This is a serious political case. We must get to the root of the matter. Thereupon, the theoretical and literary circles and the intellectuals became nervous because saying something wrong seemed to result in "a serious political case" and this was obviously the rising wind

that foreboded a coming storm. Up to now, the literary and art circles of Jiangsu Province had a good opinion of Gu Ertan. During the antirightist campaign in 1957 when the small group of "seekers" [Tan Qiu Zhe 2232 3061 5074] in Jiangsu was criticized, Gu spoke favorably of it. During the past 2 years, he actively carried out the party's policy among a few talented writers in Jiangsu, including Fang Zhi, Lu Wenfu and Gao Xiaosheng. For this reason, the literary and art circles in Jiangsu did not find Hu Yaobang's instructions convincing.

In mid-May, Hu Yaobang discovered that the actual problem about Gu Ertan was different from what was stated in the report. He realized that there was something wrong with his instructions. So, on 17 May, he telephoned the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee, saying that his instructions regarding Gu Ertan were inappropriate. At that time, the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee had just held a meeting to make preparations for launching a provincial "campaign" to criticize Gu Ertan. After receiving Hu Yaobang's telephone call, it immediately reversed itself, and no one uttered a word about the criticism. In his 17 May speech to Beijing's literary and art circles, Hu Yaobang said:

"By the way, I want to talk about the criticism of Comrade Gu Ertan in Jiangsu. In response to a report to me, I gave some instructions. I now see that these instructions were a bit too harsh. Some comrades from Jiangsu told me that Gu Ertan is a good comrade! Earlier today, I telephoned the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee and told them what I felt. The press may make criticism but should not overdo it. I also asked them to tell Comrade Gu to 'sum up his experience, pluck up his courage and do his work well.'"

Hu Yaobang's telephone message characteristic of a self-criticism made the literary and art circles in Beijing and those throughout the rest of the country feel at ease. Because he showed a statesman's demeanor of "correcting his mistake," his prestige has risen instead of declining.

CSO: 4005/688

PARTY AND STATE

'HSIN WAN PAO' ON BISHOP DENG, CHURCH INDEPENDENCE

HK241038 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 24 Jun 81 p 1

["New Talk" column: "Running the Church Independently Conforms to Religious Freedom"]

[Excerpts] The Chinese Catholic Church has rejected the Vatican's appointment of Deng Yiming as "archbishop of Guangdong Province" and dismissed him from his post of bishop of Guangzhou Diocese for his traitorous behavior. Some Taiwan publications revile scornfully that there is no religious freedom on the Chinese mainland. Is it reasonable that the Vatican should be allowed to interfere in Chinese affairs while the Chinese believers are denied the freedom to run their church independently? The Taiwan publications have ignored the national dignity and sided with the Holy See in hurling abuse at China. How shameless they are!

The world knows that the new Chinese church constantly upholds the policy of independence and sovereignty. When announcing Deng Yiming's appointment, the Vatican hinted to the Rome press that it had obtained consent from China so that the Western press was also misled. Facts show that the Holy See and Deng Yiming had private arrangements between themselves, in an attempt to resume control of the Chinese church.

Even now, the Vatican still recognizes the KMT government which the Chinese people spurned more than 30 years ago, and is maintaining "diplomatic relations" with Taiwan, which is one of China's provinces. This is outrageous interference in China's internal affairs. When the Pope visited Asia during the spring of this year, a cardinal who is also secretary of state of the Vatican came to Hong Kong to have an interview with Deng Yiming. Now, Deng has been assigned a new post. This is an attempt to manipulate the Chinese church and to meddle in Chinese affairs. This of course meets with the objection of the Chinese church and the government organ concerned, the Bureau of Religious Affairs under the State Council.

CSO: 4005/688

TAIWAN OFFICIAL DECLARES OPIUM TRADE UNABATED IN POST-MAO ERA

OM021145 Taipei CNA in English 0940 GMT 2 Jun 81

[Text] Taipei, 2 Jun (CNA)--Communist China's "opium war" against the free world has been going on unabated in the post-Mao era, a ranking government official declared Tuesday.

Speaking at a press conference on the eve of the Republic of China's opium prohibition day, Vice Interior Minister Yi Chun-po quoted "reliable statistics" as indicating that Red China now operates 90 narcotics plants turning out 57 brands of drugs.

Yi reported that customs agents in the Republic of China seized 27 kilograms of heroin aboard a Panama-registered vessel last year which bore the mainland narcotics trade mark of Shuang Shih Ti Chiu (Two Lions on the Earth).

In Kwangtung, Red China has set up a "narcotics trade promotion department" to push overseas sales, Yi added.

He pinpointed the narcotics collection stations on the mainland at Shenyang, Tientsin, Shanghai, Canton, Nanking, Kunming, Lhasa and Tihua.

The narcotic products are exported to the free world through smuggling and by other means, Yi reported.

Last year, Kwangtung's "Paoshan pharmaceutical plant" alone exported over 300 kilograms of narcotics.

Communist China is now planting three opium crops in two years under state supervision. Since Peiping liberalized its agricultural policy allowing farmers to cultivate "private plots," some peasants in remote mountainous areas are planting opium crops to boost their income, Yi said.

Quoting businessmen who have visited the Chinese mainland, Yi said there are opium-poppy plantations of several thousand Chinese acres in Haishan and Tienchi in the vicinity of Kunming, Yunnan Province. In Tsangyuan and Chiang County, there are also opium-poppy plantations.

In these areas, according to the same sources, the production, refining and distribution of the opium are taken care of directly by the Chinese communist foreign trade agencies there.

Usually, these opium goods firstly go to Kunming and Nanning, where local Chinese communist foreign trade agencies will secretly ship them to the Golden Triangle and then on to Cuba, Albania, Beirut, Amsterdam for distribution in Europe and the United States, he said.

CSO: 4020/218

EDITORIAL ON SUN'S THREE PRINCIPLES THREATENING 'COMMUNIST CHINA'

OWOZ0601 Taipei CHINA POST in English 29 May 81 p 4

[CHINA POST 29 May Editorial: "Threat to Peiping"]

[Text] Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "three principles of the people" overthrew the Manchus in the early years of this century. Today these principles pose a real threat to Communist China. The threat was confirmed recently by Dr. James Soong, director-general of the government information office, who told the legislative yuan that Dr. Sun's teaching has resulted in "violent tremors on the mainland."

History may record that no statesman in modern history has so profoundly influenced the destiny of mankind. The Republic of China is an impressive example. Even Peiping's leaders have been forced to admit it. Teng Hsiao-ping acknowledged last year that Taiwan has a much better performance record than Red China. His response was a campaign to "love the party, love the country." The outcome has been even more unrest and dissension on the mainland.

Peiping tried for some time its so-called "smiling face diplomacy." Now Peiping has returned to its original hard-line policy. Its effectiveness fades with each passing day. One reason is the intensified psychological attack on the mainland. Last year one million pounds of propaganda materials and relief goods floated down from Kinmen in balloons. About 80 per cent of the airlifted cargo was leaflets reminding the oppressed people on the mainland of the success in Taiwan and the high living standards of the people. The remaining 20 percent included food, clothing, transistor radios and wrist watches.

The high flying balloons can carry a payload of several hundred pounds and have timing devices which deflate them at pre-selected targets. When a major earthquake hit Liyang in Kiangsu Province last year, relief supplies were sent by the balloons to that area.

Unfortunately, most of the free world continues to be unaware of the mounting unrest throughout Communist China. Much of Red China's large standing army must be kept at home to put down the unrest. Other forces are committed to fighting Vietnam and Peiping's futile adventure in Cambodia.

As Dr. Soong emphasizes, the Republic of China's most potent weapon is the truth. The Republic of China continues to be the statue of liberty beckoning to the oppressed people on the mainland. We offer undisputed proof that democracy and free enterprise are superior to communism and forced labor. The reason Peiping is forced to maintain a large armed force in Fukien Province is not the fear of invasion from Kinmen, but to maintain a tight lid on the unrest of the people of that province.

Not only is this country winning the battle of psychological warfare, but we are winning the battle for exports and friends throughout the free world. Communism carries the seed of its own destruction. The Berlin Wall in Germany was built to keep East Germans out of the free world. Not even one German has ever attempted to scale that wall to enter Communist East Germany.

CSD: 4020/218

TAIWAN PAPER ON U.S. ARMS SALE TO 'REDS'

OW290623 Taipei CHINA POST in English 25 Jun 81 p 4

[Editorial: "Dr. Ku Cheng-kang's Timely Warning"]

[Text] Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, honorary chairman of the World Anti-Communist League and president of the Asian Pacific Parliamentarians' Union (APPU) Chinese national group, served warning to the United States yesterday against any sales of lethal arms to the Chinese Reds.

Dr. Ku issued the warning in an address at the 30th APPU council meeting at the Grand Hotel yesterday morning attended by more than 90 members and associate members from the Republic of China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Nauru, the Philippines, Thailand, Guam and 14 observers from American Samoa, Australia, Fiji, India, Federated States of Micronesia Palau, Tuvalu and Indonesia.

Dr. Ku, commenting on the recent trip to Peiping by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., told the first council session since the Asia Parliamentarians' Union's expansion into APPU that "many sources now fear that the United States is taking new steps along its policy of alliance with the Chinese Reds to check the Soviets." He noted that for the sake of our region's common security and peace, "We the free nations of Asia and the Pacific must together urge the U.S. Government to clearly see the danger hidden in the new situation." "We believe," he continued, "that sales of lethal arms to the Chinese Reds will help the regime grow as another aggressive power and that free nations of the Asia-Pacific region will be the first to get victimized." Moreover, Dr. Ku reasoned that "In view of the extent of Peiping's military backwardness compared with Soviet armaments, the regime cannot function as a checking force even if the United States supplies it with large amounts of arms and equipment."

Military experts agree that it would take U.S. \$40-60 billion to modernize Peiping's armed forces which are at least 20 or 30 years behind the Soviets. Such a costly rearmament program has no assurance of success as the Chinese communist military officers and soldiers are mostly ignorant if not illiterate and can not possibly utilize modern weapons and equipment. Any U.S. aid and assistance will go down in rat holes just as many modern machines purchased by the Chinese Communists are idle, because the communists lack competent personnel to operate them.

Furthermore, there is no guarantee that any agreement concluded between the United States and the Peiping regime would be honored. Dr. Ku told the council meeting that "the Chinese Reds cannot be expected to honor even a bit of international good faith. He believes the treaties and agreements may get scrapped by the regime and that free nations will inevitably find their military cooperation with Peiping on a one-way track, with no benefit whatsoever to be gained in return."

Dr. Ku also warned that assistance to Peiping will rub Moscow the wrong way and escalate the danger of war. Moscow's repeated condemnation of Haig's visit to Peiping with its warning of dire consequences as a result of U.S. arms sales to Peiping has certainly confirmed Dr. Ku's apprehensions in this respect. However, Dr. Ku also warned of "the serious consequences that cannot be averted if and when Moscow and Peiping become friends again and turn jointly against the free world." International communists may quarrel between themselves for hegemony, but their ultimate aim of conquering the world and burying the "capitalist nations" remains unchanged.

It is apparent that the United States has fallen into the Chinese communist trap of rescuing the Peiping regime from the Soviet menace as well as domestic turmoil and resistance by its 900 million people. Secretary Haig's visit to Peiping at this time could neither improve the international situation to promote the peace and security of the Asian and Pacific region, nor further U.S. interest in this region. Instead, Haig's visit has created doubt and misgivings among U.S. allies and friends in the Asian and Pacific region and the U.S. decision to sell Peiping "lethal arms" will endanger the peace and security of this vast region especially the Republic of China which has been bearing the responsibility of safeguarding the peace and security of the Taiwan Straits. All Asian nations should rise to protest such an unfortunate decision detrimental to their vital interests.

CSO: 4020/218

TAIWAN INDUSTRIALIST URGES PACIFIC COMMUNITY

OW020309 Taipei CNA in English 0247 GMT 2 Jul 81

[Text] Taipei, 2 Jul (CNA)—The Republic of China should pay close attention to the development of the idea of the Pacific economic community, according to Koo Chen-fu, chairman of the Chinese National Association of Industry and Commerce.

Speaking at a general meeting of the News Editors Association of the Republic of China Wednesday, Koo said this country should study and discuss measures vis-a-vis Pacific region economic cooperation organization.

Koo pointed out that due to changing political and economic situation in the Asian and Pacific area, it is desirable that a regional international institute is organized to enhance economic relations among countries in the region.

Ideas of Pacific economic community, initiated by Japan in 1979, are as follows:

--promotion of trade and development of natural resources in Pacific countries.

--cooperation of Pacific countries to speed up economic development and create stable economic order.

--stable economic order will have far reaching effects on other regions, particularly on the Atlantic region.

In Koo's opinion, there are four favorable elements for the realization of the Pacific economic community:

1. Population of Pacific region (not including Communist China and other communist countries) is 1/5 of the world population.
2. There are countries with high technology, countries newly industrialized and nations that are rich in natural resources in the region.
3. Since the energy crisis in 1973, economic growth in the region is faster than in other regions.
4. Trade between nations in the Pacific still has great potential of development.

BRIEFS

TAIWAN REFUSES CABLES--Beijing, June 2 (XINHUA)--The Beijing administration of long-distant telecommunications received an "express service message" from the Taipei telecommunication office June 1 stating the office's refusal to accept telegrams sent by the funeral committee for Comrade Soong Ching Ling to her relatives in Taiwan, as well as to Chiang Ching-kuo and Chiang Wei-kuo. The telegrams sent in the morning of May 30 informed them of news about the death of Soong Ching Ling and extended deepest condolences to them. [Text] [OW021216 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 2 Jun 81]

PRC, TAIWAN BASEBALL TEAMS--Beijing, June 5 (XINHUA)--A Chinese junior women's baseball team left here today to visit Japan and the United States en route to Canada to participate in the first world junior baseball championships. The championships will take place between July 5 and 12 in Edmonton. The team has 17 players, all under the age of 18. Other participants in the championships are the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia, Mexico, Venezuela, Bermuda, Virgin Islands and the Chinese Taipei team. It is the first world championships with a women's team from the People's Republic of China competing. [Text] [OW050302 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 5 Jun 81]

TAIWAN GROUP IN JAPAN--Beijing, June 3 (XINHUA)--The funeral committee for the late honorary president Soong Ching Ling has received a message from the Japan "Minhui" association of fellow-provincials from Taiwan expressing condolences on the death of Madame Soong Ching Ling. The message reads: Shocked and grieved to learn of the death of Madame Soong Ching Ling, we Chinese compatriots from Taiwan Province residing in Japan find in her death the loss of a great treasure of the motherland. Madame Soong Ching Ling spared no effort in carrying on the unfinished cause of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in a selfless struggle for the independence, territorial integrity and democracy of China. She was indeed the salt of the earth and one of the noblest women in the world. The exemplary life of Madame Soong Ching Ling will never fade away with her death. Her footprints have opened up a golden road for millions upon millions of Chinese people and will be engraved forever in the minds of the Chinese people at home and abroad. It is our determination to contribute our bit to the reunification of the motherland. May Madame Soong Ching Ling rest in peace. [Text] [OW031941 Beijing XINHUA in English 1846 GMT 3 Jun 81]

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